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THE HISTORY OF ITALY,

Written in *Italian* by

FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

A Nobleman of *Florence*.

IN TWENTY BOOKS.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH by the

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THE

HISTORY

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Franceſco Guicciardini's
HISTORY
OF
The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK XIII.

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The Duke of Urbino *with the Aſſiſtance of the* Spaniards *attempts to recover his Dutchy, but after various Fortune is forced to retreat to* Mantoua. *Cardinal* Petrucci *in a Plot to poiſon the Pope, which is diſcovered, and the Conſpirators puniſhed.* Selim, *the* Ottoman, *after diſpatching his Father and Brothers by Poiſon and Sword, becomes Emperor of the* Turks, *and overcomes the Sophi of* Perſia, *ſubdues the Sultan of* Egypt, *and is afterwards apprehenſive of a Cruſade. The Death of the Emperor* Maximilian, *the Intrigues of the King of* France *on that*

Occaſion, and the Election of Charles V. *The Beginning and Progreſs of* Luther's *Hereſy. Cauſes of War between the Emperor and King of* France. *Tumults in* Spain.

A. D. 1517. IT was expected, after *Cæſar* and the *Venetians* had laid down their Arms, and all Occaſions for a War of the King of *France* againſt *Cæſar* and the Catholic King were removed, that *Italy*, which had been afflicted and broken by ſuch a Multitude of Calamities, would have enjoyed Reſt for ſome Years; and more eſpecially ſince the *Swiſs*, who are a powerful Inſtrument in the Hands of one who delights in Broils and Diſturbances, appeared to be reconciled and to have renewed their antient Friendſhip with the King of *France*, without leſſening on that Account their Attachments to the other Princes. And ſo hopeful was the Proſpect of Affairs from the Convention made at *Noyon*, that, for eſtabliſhing a greater Harmony between the two Kings, it was contrived they ſhould have an Interview at *Cambray*, whither *Cheures*, the Grand Maſter

Maſter of *France*, and *Robertet* were before repaired, in order to make Diſpoſitions for the Congreſs; and no leſs Readineſs to embrace pacific Meaſures appeared in *Cæſar*, who had not only reſtored *Verona*, but had ſent two Ambaſſadors to the King of *France*, to confirm and ſwear to the Peace. It was then, not without juſt Reaſon, imagined that Peace and Agreement between ſuch powerful Princes muſt have cruſhed all the Seeds of War and Diſcord in *Italy*. And yet, either through the Unhappineſs of our Fate, or becauſe, *Italy* being divided into ſo many Principalities and States, it was next to impoſſible, on account of the various Inclinations and Intereſts of her Rulers, that ſhe ſhould not be ſubjected to continual Diſquietudes, lo! hardly had *Cæſar* and the *Venetians* laid down their Arms, and even before the Conſignment of the City of *Verona*, freſh Tumults began to ariſe. The Author of theſe Diſturbances was *Franceſco Maria dalla Rovere*, who had ſollicited the *Spaniſh* Foot that had ſerved in *Verona*, and in the *French* and *Venetian* Army about that City, to aſſiſt him in the Recovery of the

A. D. 1517.

Peace of *Italy* diſturbed by the Duke of *Urbino*.

A. D. 1517 States from which he had that ſame Summer been driven by the Pontiff. He found it very eaſy to perſuade them, ſince to foreign Soldiers, accuſtomed in Wars to the Plundering of Towns, and to the Ravaging of Countries, nothing was more diſtaſteful than the Peace to which all the Affairs of *Italy*, they ſaw, had a manifeſt Tendency.

THE Duke then drew together about Five Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, the Chief of whom was *Maldonato*, a Man of the ſame Nation, and exerciſed in many Wars: To theſe were joined about Eight Hundred light Horſe under the Command of *Federigo da Bozzolo*, *Gajoſo* a *Spaniard*, *Zucchero* a *Burgundian*, and *Andrea Bua* and *Coſtatino Buccola*, *Albanians*, all experienced Officers, and of no mean Reputation in Arms. But the moſt eſteemed among them all by far, both for the Nobility of his Houſe, and for the Rank which even from his tender Years he had held in the Military, was *Federigo da Gonzaga* Lord of *Bozzolo*, who had been one of the moſt efficacious Agents in perſuading this Conjunction

junction of Forces, being induced not only by a Deſire of increaſing his Renown in the Exerciſe of Arms by new Wars, and by his intimate Friendſhip with *Franceſco Maria*, but alſo by the Hatred which he had conceived againſt *Lorenzo de' Medici*. For when the Command of all the Military of the Church and of the *Florentines* was transferred to *Lorenzo* on account of the Sickneſs of his Uncle *Giuliano*, he had refuſed *Federigo* the Poſt of Commander in chief of the Foot, which had been granted him before by *Giuliano*. This Army then, which was much more to be eſteemed for its Valour than for its Number, or Preparations for maintaining a War, for it was not furniſhed with Money, Artillery, nor Ammunition, nor, except Horſes and Arms, with any of thoſe great Proviſions with which Armies are uſually attended, ſet out on its March for the State of *Urbino* on the ſame Day that the City of *Verona* was conſigned to the *Venetians*.

A. D. 1517.

Duke of *Urbino* attempts to recover his State.

On the firſt Intelligence of the Motion of theſe Troops the Pope was mightily

A. D. 1517. disturbed; for he considered the Quality of the Army, which was formidable for the Hatred of the Generals, and for the Bravery and Reputation of the *Spanish* Foot. He knew the Inclination that the People of the Dutchy of *Urbino* bore towards *Francesco Maria*, because they had been a long Time under the gentle Government of the House of *Montefeltro*, their Affection to which they had transferred on him, who had his Education in that State, and was born of a Sister of Duke *Guido*. Besides this, it was a sad Vexation to the Pontiff that he was to go to War against an Army which had nothing to lose, and was put in Motion only by a Desire of Plunder and Rapine, by the Sweetness of which he was afraid that Multitudes of Soldiers, who by the Peace were left without Means for gaining a Subsistence, might be tempted to join them. But what above all tormented his Mind was a Jealousy that this Movement was made with the Participation of the King of *France*; for, besides knowing that the War against *Francesco Maria* had displeased the King, he was conscious to himself that

that he had given him many Occaſions to be diſſatisfied with him; as, for Inſtance, by not obſerving, when *Cæſar* deſcended into *Lombardy*, the Confederacy made after the Acquiſition of *Milan*; by having, after his Return to *Rome*, ſent him a Bull concerning the Collation of Benefices in the Kingdom of *France*, and Dutchy of *Milan*, which, being of a different Tenor from what was agreed by the Convention made in *Bologna*, that for Want of Time had not been ſubſcribed, the King in Anger refuſed to accept; by carrying on ſecret Negotiations with the other Princes, and with the *Swiſs* againſt him; by having not long before, out of a Deſire to prevent directly the Recovery of *Verona*, permitted the *Spaniſh* Foot, that marched from *Naples* to relieve it, to paſs ſeparately through the State of the Church, alledging in Excuſe that he was not willing to give them Occaſion to paſs in a Body, becauſe he was not able to reſiſt them; by his not granting him, according to his Promiſe made in *Bologna*, the Tenths, but on intricate Conditions; and by his not reſtoring the Towns to the Duke of *Ferrara*.

A. D. 1517.

Pope ſuſpicious of the King of *France* and *Venetians*.

A. D. 1517. *rara*. Theſe Reaſons gave him juſt Cauſe to ſuſpect the Intentions of the King; but he fancied he ſaw others yet more convincing. The Diſpoſitions for this Movement being made in the Neighbourhood of *Verona*, it was impoſſible but it muſt, many Days before it was ſet on Foot, have come to the Knowledge of *Lautrech*, and as he kept it ſecret, it might be preſumed to be undertaken with the King's Conſent. To this it was added, that *Federigo da Bozzolo* had been till that preſent in the King's Pay, nor did it appear to be true, what *Lautrech* pleaded in Excuſe, that the Term of his Service was expired. The Pontiff was alſo jealous of the Inclinations of the *Venetians*, whoſe Proveditors were ſaid to have been concerned in aſſembling theſe Troops, that Senate, on the Memory of paſt Tranſactions, being diſſatisfied with him, and uneaſy at his Greatneſs, becauſe he had ſucceeded to the Pontificate when it was at ſuch a Height of Power and Reputation, and could diſpoſe of the *Florentine* State at Pleaſure.

A. D. 1517.

ALL theſe Apprehenſions ſerved to terrify the Pope, while he had no Hopes or Encouragement from his Friendſhip or Alliances with the other Princes, for, beſides their having newly either made Peace or Confederacies with the King of *France*, there was not one of them but was diſguſted with his Manner of Proceeding by ſecret Counſels and Artifices, in which, though he might have been inclined to their Party, yet by ſhewing a Reluctance to diſcover himſelf, and a Slowneſs in putting his Intentions in Execution, and performing his Promiſes, he had given but little Satisfaction to any of them, nay, was frequently afraid of them all; and therefore had very lately ſent Frier *Nicolas*, a *German*, and Secretary to the Cardinal *de' Medici*, to the Catholic King, to diſſuade him from the Interview which was in Agitation between him and the King of *France*, being apprehenſive of a cloſer Alliance between theſe two Princes, which might tend to his Prejudice. In this doubtful and perplexed State of Mind neither he nor his Nephew *Lorenzo* ceaſed continually

A. D. 1517. continually ſending Troops into *Romagna*, partly new Levies, and partly Detachments from the *Florentine* ſtanding Regiments, that ſo joining with *Renzo da Ceri* and *Vitello*, who were with the Men at Arms at *Ravenna*, they might oppoſe the Paſſage of the Enemy. But this Deſign was prevented by the Expeditiouſneſs of the Enemy's March, who paſſing the *Po* at *Oſtia*, had croſſed the Territory of *Bologna* by the Way of *Cento* and *Butrio*, and were entered into the Dominions of the Duke of *Ferrara*, from whence they proceeded, and after ſacking *Granarolo*, a Caſtle in the *Faventine*, came before *Faenza*, in order to try whether the Name of a Youth of the Family of the *Manfredi*, who was in their Army, could excite the *Faventines* to endeavour at a Change, But all Things continuing very quiet in the City they paſſed forwards without making any other Attempt on the Towns of *Romagna*, which had all Garriſons, either of Men at Arms or of Foot, and for the better Security of *Rimini*, *Renzo* and *Vitello* were gone thither by Sea. *Lorenzo* proceeded to *Ceſena*, to aſſemble there

Motions of the Duke of *Urbino* and of the Eccleſiaſtic Army.

there and at *Rimini* his Forces; but the Enemy being advanced forwards he ceaſed not in the mean time to inliſt Soldiers in many Places, which abounded with them in greater Numbers than he wanted or even deſired. For Twenty-five Hundred *German* Foot, and above Four Thouſand *Gaſcons*, being diſmiſſed by *Lautrech*, and about to return to their own Country, *Giovanni da Poppi*, Secretary to *Lorenzo*, and his Agent for ſeveral Months with *Lautrech*, either out of a vain Suſpicion that their Infantry, being out of Pay, would follow *Franceſco Maria*, or perſuading himſelf, on ſlight Grounds, that the War might ſoon be brought to a happy Iſſue with theſe Forces, inliſted them by his own Authority, making Uſe of the Authority of *Lautrech* with the principal Officers, and immediately put them in Motion towards *Bologna*; ſo that the Pontiff and *Lorenzo*, who, on account of the Suſpicion they had of the King, were highly diſſatisfied at this preſumptuous Step of *Poppi*, had no Room to refuſe them, for fear that after they had proceeded thus far they would join with their Enemies. A. D. 1517.

In

A. D. 1517.

In the mean time *Franceſco Maria* proceeded forwards, and entering the State of *Urbino* was every where received with great Joy by the People, not a Soldier being found in the Towns; for *Lorenzo* not having had Time to provide for ſo many Places, had only taken Care for the Defence of the City of *Urbino*, the Seat and Capital of the Dutchy; and for this Purpoſe, by Advice of *Vitello*, he had ſent thither Two Thouſand Foot from *Citta di Caſtello*, and in the Room of *Vitello*, who refuſed to go, had appointed *Giacomo Roſſetto* of *Citta di Caſtello* to conduct them. That Officer being by many adviſed, becauſe the People were by no means to be truſted, to drive all who were able to bear Arms out of the City, refuſed to do it. *Franceſco Maria* therefore, without Loſs of Time, marched directly to *Urbino*, and though his firſt Approach to the Walls was unſucceſsful, yet on his coming before them a ſecond Time *Giacomo Roſſetto* agreed to ſurrender him the Town, induced either by Unfaithfulneſs, as many believed, or by Fear of the People, who were all in an Uproar,

Urbino ſurrendered to the Duke.

Uproar, for he had no Reaſon to be afraid of the Forces of the Enemy, who were unprovided with Artillery, and all other Neceſſaries for a Siege. The Garriſon marched out with Safety to their Perſons and Effects according to the Capitulation, but Biſhop *Vitello*, who had governed that State in the Name of the new Duke, and under whom nothing ſeemed to have ſucceeded proſperouſly, remained Priſoner. The Example of *Urbino* was followed by the whole State, except *San Leo*, which being very ſtrong by Situation was defended by a ſmall Garriſon. The Citizens of *Agobbio*, which had at firſt declared for the Duke, and afterwards repenting themſelves had returned to the Obedience of *Lorenzo*, ſeeing ſuch a Train of Succeſs, did the ſame as the reſt of the Towns. *Peſaro*, *Sinigaglia*, *Gradata* and *Mondaino*, Towns ſeparate from the Dutchy, remained in the Power of *Lorenzo*. A. D. 1517.

FRANCESCO MARIA after the Recovery of *Urbino* applied his Thoughts to make himſelf Maſter of ſome of the maritime Places, and becauſe *Peſaro* and *Sinigaglia* had

A. D. 1517. had numerous Garriſons, having made a Feint to march to *Peſaro*, he turned towards *Fano*, a City uſually in a worſe State of Defence, and having never been in Subjection to him was the leſs afraid of him. But *Renzo da Ceri*, who was at *Peſaro*, having Notice of his Deſign, immediately ordered to *Fano Troilo Savello* with an Hundred Men at Arms and Six Hundred Foot. The Enemy approached the Place with five Pieces of Artillery, not very large, which they had found in *Urbino*, and being in Want alſo of Powder, they had made a Breach in the Wall of not above twenty Braces, and that with Difficulty, yet they ſtormed the Place, but were repulſed with the Loſs of about an Hundred and Fifty Men. Undaunted, however, they gave a freſh Aſſault the next Day, and with ſuch Vigour that the Breach was in a manner abandoned, and they would without Doubt have entered the Town, had it not been for the Valour of *Fabiano da Galleſe*, Lieutenant to *Troilo*, who maintaining his Poſt at the Wall with a few Men at Arms, performed Wonders in its Defence, and repulſed the Enemy.

Duke attacks *Fano* in vain.

They

They would have given another Aſſault the next Day, but being informed that Five Hundred Men from *Peſaro* had entered the Place by Sea in the Night, they decamped and went and poſted themſelves at *Caſtello di Monte Baroccio*, ſeated on a very high Mountain, and very ſtrong by Situation, from whence the Deſcent is eaſy towards *Foſſombrone* and *Urbino*, but difficult and very rugged towards *Peſaro*. By remaining in this Poſt, as they had at preſent no Opportunity to employ their Arms to better Purpoſe, they covered the Dutchy of *Urbino* which lay behind them. *A. D.* 1517.

On the other Side the *German* and *Gaſcon* Foot, with great Numbers beſides of *Italian* Foot taken into Pay, and Fifteen Hundred *German* Foot of thoſe who had lain in Garriſon at *Verona*, arrived at *Rimini*, where *Lorenzo de' Medici* had his Quarters, and where almoſt the whole Cavalry of the Pope and of the *Florentines* was alſo aſſembled. *Lorenzo*, who being unexperienced in War was directed by the Advice of the Generals, advanced with his Men at Arms to *Peſaro*, and

A. D. 1517. ordered his Foot to poſt themſelves on the Mountains oppoſite to the Enemy. The City of *Peſaro* is ſeated at the Entrance of a Valley, that extends itſelf towards *Urbino*, and gives Paſſage to a River, which is called by the Inhabitants *Porto*, becauſe in that Place it is navigable for Barks, and runs near the City on the Side towards *Rimini*. The Caſtle is towards the Sea, and between the River and the City are a Multitude of Warehouſes, which for the Security of the Town *Renzo* had demoliſhed. A great Part of the City is ſurrounded on all Sides by Mountains, which reach not to the Sea, but between them and the Sea leave ſome Space for a Plain, which on the Side towards *Fano* is two Miles in Breadth; and on the Downs are two Hills one over againſt another, of which that towards the Sea is called *Candelara*, and the other, towards *Urbino*, *Nugolara*, and on the Top of each of theſe Hills is a Caſtle of the ſame Name with the Hill. Now the *Italian* Foot were poſted at the Caſtle of *Candelara*, and the *Germans* and *Gaſcons* at that of *Nugolara*, next to the Enemy, which was done not with an Intention to fight,

Situation of *Peſaro*.

fight, unleſs it were in ſlight Skirmiſhes, but to prevent them from ranging the Country at Liberty, or undertaking any Enterpriſe. For the Pope had reſolved not to come to a deciſive Battle, unleſs he were in a manner aſſured of of the Victory, knowing how dangerous it was to engage with valiant Soldiers, and who, becauſe the Reward of Succeſs was unequal, were ready to hazard themſelves; that the Damage would be very conſiderable if his Army ſhould be overcome, becauſe the State of the Church and of the *Florentines* would be expoſed to manifeſt Danger; and that it was the ſafeſt Way to temporiſe, and ſtand upon the Defenſive, ſince he had good Grounds to hope that the Want of Money and Proviſions, in ſo poor and barren a Country, would be ſufficient to put the Enemy in Diſorder, and no leſs Reaſon to believe that his own Army by Experience, and by the Reinforcements which it received Month after Month of choicer Troops, would be in a better Condition; and alſo becauſe he was in Expectation that the State of his Affairs would improve every Day, conſidering

A. D. 1517.

A. D. 1517. that in the Beginning of this Movement, beſides taking care to aſſiſt himſelf with the pontifical Authority, he had earneſtly demanded Succours of all the Princes, making his Complaints to their Ambaſſadors in *Rome*, and by Apoſtolic Briefs, and by Meſſages, to the Princes themſelves; but not to all of them after the ſame Manner. For in ſignifying to *Cæſar* and the King of *Spain* the Conſpiracy formed by *Franceſco Maria della Rovere* and the *Spaniſh* Foot in the Camp of the King of *France*, and under the Eyes of his Lieutenant, he inſerted ſuch Expreſſions in the Briefs, as made it plainly appear that he had no ſmall Suſpicion that the Plot was concerted with the Knowledge of that King; but with the moſt Chriſtian King, after ſhewing ſome Suſpicions of *Lautrech*, he did not puſh his Complaints any farther.

Pope complains of the Duke of *Urbino*.

THE Affair of *Urbino* was regarded by the Princes with different Concern, for *Cæſar* and his Grandſon underſtood with great Pleaſure that the Pope imputed this Injury to the King of *France*. The firſt from his antient Hatred, and natural Inconſtancy,

conſtancy, being already at Variance with the King of *France*, had entered into a new Confederacy with the King of *England*, and in a Conference with his Grandſon at *Antwerp* diſſuaded him from his intended Interview with the King of *France*, which was at laſt wholly laid aſide by Conſent of both Kings; and as for the Catholic King, his Confederacy with the King of *France* was not ſufficient to ſuppreſs his riſing Emulation and Jealouſy of him. They readily therefore offered the Pope their Aſſiſtance, and commanded all their Subjects to deſiſt from ſerving in a War againſt the Pope; and the Catholic King ordered the Count of *Potenza*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to review his Men at Arms, and to march with Four Hundred Lances to his Aſſiſtance; and, for the greater Teſtimony of his Affection, he deprived, as in Caſe of Diſobedience, *Franceſco Maria* of the Dutchy of *Sora*, which was purchaſed by his Father on the Borders of the *Terra di Lavoro*.

A. D. 1517.

Promiſed Aſſiſtance from *Cæſar* and the King of *Spain*.

But the King of *France* was for a different Reaſon pleaſed with the Troubles of the

A. D. 1517. Pope, as a Prince who was in his Heart diſſaffected towards him; and therefore at firſt, following his Example, and feeding him with vain Hopes, he anſwered that he was extremely concerned at his Misfortunes, and promiſed to take care that *Lautrech* ſhould aſſiſt him in his Proceedings, ſubjoining, however, that the Pontiff himſelf had been the Cauſe of his own Sufferings, for the *Spaniards* would never have been ſo audacious if their Numbers had not been increaſed by thoſe who, with his Leave, had paſſed from *Naples* to *Verona*. Such were the King's Intentions at the Beginning, but afterwards conſidering that if the Pontiff were abandoned by him, he might precipitate himſelf without Reſtraint into an Alliance with the Catholic King, he reſolved to ſhew him ſome Favour, but at the ſame time to make ſome Profit of his Neceſſity. The Pontiff therefore ſolliciting his Aſſiſtance, he ordered that Three Hundred Lances ſhould march from *Milan* for that Purpoſe, and at the ſame time propoſed as needful a new Confederacy between them, becauſe that which had been contracted at *Bologna* had been

From the King of *France*.

been violated by the Pope many Ways, and was therefore become of no longer Conſideration. A. D. 1517. Theſe Offers were attended with many Complaints, for ſometimes the King complained that the Pope had wrongfully accuſed him to other Princes, ſometimes that out of Spite to him, and to gratify the Cardinal of *Sion*, he had excommunicated *Giorgio Sopraſaſſo* who favoured his Intereſt with the *Swiſs*. Beſides this, the King's Mother, who had the Title of Regent, and had great Authority with him, reproved, without Reſpect, the unmerciful Dealings of the Pope, who not content with driving a Prince out of his own State, had afterwards excommunicated him, and by withholding the Dowry and the Profits of it from the Dutcheſs Dowager, and from the young Dutcheſs his Wife, had been the Cauſe of their wanting Neceſſaries for Subſiſtence; and her Words coming to the Ears of the Pope augmented his Suſpicions.

BUT the Pope beſet with ſo many Difficulties deſired the *French* Auxiliaries, not for their Service, but for their Name and

A. D. 1517. Reputation, and the Three Hundred Lances took their March from *Milan*, but were directed by the Pope, who was not able to diſſemble his Suſpicions, to halt for many Days in the *Modeneſe* and *Bologneſe*, after which they were by *Lorenzo* aſſigned Quarters in *Rimini*, becauſe that City being at a good Diſtance from the Enemy, they had the leſs Power while they were ſtationed there to do any Miſchief. Nor were thoſe Suſpicions moderated by the Confederacy which about the ſame Time was concluded at *Rome*, for the King before he would ratify ſtarted new Difficulties, by which the Affair was ſuſpended for many Days; but at laſt, the Pope giving up many Points, the King ratified.

New Confederacy between the Pope and the King of *France*.

The Confederacy contained a reciprocal Obligation between the Pontiff and the King to the Defence of their reſpective States, with a certain Number of Troops, and Twelve Thouſand Ducats a Month: That between the King of *France* and the *Florentines*, in Conjunction with the Authority of *Lorenzo de' Medici*, and with the Comprehenſion of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, there ſhould be the ſame Obligation, but

with

with a leſs Number of Troops, and Six Thouſand Ducats a Month: That the King ſhould be bound to aſſiſt the Pope when he had a Mind to proceed againſt the Subjects or Feudataries of the Church: That the Pope ſhould grant the King the Nomination of Benefices, and the Tenths according to the Promiſes he had made in *Bologna*, on Condition that the Money ſhould be repoſited in order to be expended in a War againſt the *Turks*, under which ſpecious Pretence the Tenths were granted, but with tacit Hopes given the King, that after the whole Quantity was depoſited, the Condition with which it was clogged ſhould be taken off by another Brief, and the King left at Liberty to convert it wholly to his own Uſe. The Pope promiſed the King by a ſeparate Brief never to requeſt his Aid againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, and even be content that the King ſhould take him into his Protection. There was a long Diſpute about the Reſtitution of *Reggio*, *Modena* and *Rubiera*, which was demanded by his Majeſty with the greateſt Earneſtneſs according to the Promiſes he had received

A. D. 1517.

at

A. D. 1517. at *Bologna*. Nor was it denied by the Pope, but reſerved for another Time, for which he alledged as Reaſons, that it would be highly unworthy of him, and look like a Confeſſion that he was driven to the laſt Neceſſity, to reſtore thoſe Towns when he was encumbered with War. The King, however, inſiſted on a preſent Reſtitution, till at laſt the Pope appearing diſpoſed to break off from all Engagements, if the Point were preſſed any farther, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty conſidering that the King of *England* was his Enemy, and that he ſuſpected *Cæſar*, the King of *Spain*, and the *Swiſs*, was content with a Brief to be put into his Hands, in which the Pope ſhould promiſe to reſtore *Modena*, *Reggio* and *Rubiera* to the Duke of *Ferrara* within the next ſeven Months. But *Leo* had reſolved in his Mind, as ſoon as he ſhould be freed from his Dangers, to pay no more Regard to his Brief than he had to his Word which he had paſſed at *Bologna*. And as for the King, ſince he could obtain no more of the Pontiff without Danger of incurring his extreme Indignation, he thought it, however, of ſome Moment

Moment that his Promiſes and Faith would appear in Writing. A. D. 1517.

BUT while theſe Things were in Agitation the Army of *Lorenzo* being ſufficiently augmented, for, beſides many new Levies of *Italians*, the Pope had liſted a Thouſand *Spaniſh* and as many *German* Foot in *Rome*, it appeared high Time to attempt getting free from this War, for which Purpoſe it was neceſſary to diſlodge the Enemy from their ſtrong Camp, which they could only hope to effect by forcing them to abandon it for Want of Proviſions. *Camillo Orſino* was therefore detached with Seven Hundred light Horſe to ſcour the Country called the *Vicariato*, from which the Enemy drew the greater Part of their Subſiſtence. At this Time a Trumpet came to *Peſaro* from the Enemy's Army, to demand of *Lorenzo* a Paſs for one *Suares* a *Spaniſh* Officer, and any one whom he ſhould bring in his Company, to wait upon him. *Lorenzo* eaſily granted his Requeſt, imagining this *Suares* had been an Officer with whom he held ſecret Intelligence. But there came another Officer

of

A. D. 1517. of the ſame Name, and with him *Oratio da Fermo*, Secretary to *Franceſco Maria*. After demanding public Audience *Suares*, in the Name of *Franceſco Maria*, declared, that as the Differences between them were capable of being decided by a Combat of them alone, or in Conjunction with a determinate Number on each Side, it was more convenient to chuſe one of theſe Methods, than perſevere in that Courſe by which the People were wickedly deſtroyed, and their future Lord, whoever he ſhould be, greatly endamaged. *Franceſco Maria*, therefore, gives Leave to *Lorenzo* to chuſe either of theſe Methods as he thinks fit. After theſe Words he offered to read a Writing, but was forbidden. *Lorenzo*, by the Advice of his Officers, anſwered that he willingly accepted the Propoſal, provided that *Franceſco Maria* would firſt relinquiſh what he had taken Poſſeſſion of by Violence. When he had thus ſpoken, at the Inſtigation of *Renzo da Ceri*, he ordered them both to be impriſoned, *Renzo* affirming that they deſerved to be puniſhed for their extraordinary Inſolence. But the reſt of the Generals reproving him for

Duke of *Urbino* challenges *Lorenzo*.

Breach

Breach of Faith he diſmiſſed *Suares*, and only detained *Oratio*, excuſing the infamous Violation of his Faith by falſe Cavils, as if it had been neceſſary for *Oratio*, who was by Origin a Subject of the Church, and by Employment a Secretary of an Enemy, to be expreſly named in the Paſs. But this was done with an Intent to extort from him the ſecret Counſels of *Franceſco Maria*, and particularly to learn by whoſe Advice and Authority he had raiſed the War. Being examined on the Rack, it is reported he made ſuch a Confeſſion as augmented the Jealouſy conceived of the King of *France*. A. D. 1517.

BUT the Deſign of *Lorenzo* to prevent the *Spaniards* from receiving Supplies of Proviſions from the *Vicariato* required greater Forces to put it effectually in Execution, for the Excurſions of the light Horſe were very inſufficient for that End, and the Army was now in a Condition boldly to face the Enemy. For *Lorenzo* had got together, beſides a Thouſand Men at Arms, and as many light Horſe, Fifteen Thouſand Foot of different Nations, among whom

A. D. 1517. whom were above Two Thouſand *Spaniards* inliſted at *Rome*, an Infantry perfectly exerciſed in Arms, and very choice Troops; and the *Italian* Foot, there being no War in any other Place, and the Officers on that Account having Opportunities to exchange by Degrees the more unſerviceable new and haſty Levies for Troops of longer Standing and of more Service, conſiſted of the Flower of the Infantry in all *Italy*. It was reſolved then to march and encamp at *Sorbolungo*, a Caſtle of the Territory of *Fano*, five Miles diſtant from *Foſſombrone*, in which Situation it was eaſy to prevent the Enemy from receiving Proviſions out of the *Vicariato*. The City of *Foſſombrone* is ſeated on the River *Metro*, famous for the Victory of the *Romans* over *Aſdrubal* the *Carthaginian*. This River has its Courſe as far as that Place in a Channel ſtraitened between the Mountains, but as ſoon as it has paſſed *Foſſombrone* begins to glide through a wider Valley, which ſtill dilates itſelf the nearer it approaches the Sea, which is fifteen Miles diſtant from *Foſſombrone*, and the *Metro* falls into it near *Fano*, but on the Side towards *Sinigaglia*.

On

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On the right Hand, according to the Courſe of the River, is the Country called the *Vicariato*, all full of fertile Hills and Villages, and extending itſelf a long Way toward the Sea Coaſts. On the left Hand of the River are alſo Hills, but at a greater Diſtance you meet with lofty and rugged Mountains; and that Part of the Plain which extends itſelf towards *Fano* is above three Miles in Breadth. When *Lorenzo* therefore determined to go, and poſt himſelf at *Sorbolungo*, ſuſpecting that the Enemy, on perceiving the Motion of his Camp, would prevent him, he detached, before Break of Day, *Giovanni de' Medici*, *Giovan Battiſta da Stabbia*, and *Brunoro da Forli* with Four Hundred light Horſe to take Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, and having ordered the Foot that were at *Candelara* and *Nugolara* to croſs the Mountains, and march to join the others towards the *Metro*, he himſelf with the whole Remainder of the Army, leaving *Guido Rangone* with an Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms for the Security of *Peſaro*, decamped at Sunriſe, and took his March from *Peſaro* towards *Fano* along the Sea Shore; and turning towards

A. D. 1517. towards *Foſſombrone*, where the Valley begins, he arrived by Noon at a Place called *il Mulino di Madonna* on the River, which all the Horſe, and the *Italian* Infantry waded, but the *Gaſcons* and *Germans* were ſo ſlow in paſſing it over a Bridge prepared for that Purpoſe, that the Army not being able to arrive the ſame Day, according to Appointment, at *Sorbolungo*, were conſtrained to take up their Quarters at *San Giorgio*, *Occiano* and *Mondavio*, Villages half a Mile diſtant one from another. But the light Horſe had no better Succeſs in executing their Orders than the others, for, while they were on their March, *Giovanni de' Medici*, who in this his firſt Campaign gave Signs of his future Valour and Conduct, perceiving that by Miſtake they had taken the longeſt Way, left the others, who deſpiſed his Advice, and entered *Sorbolungo* ſeveral Hours before Night; the other Officers, after fetching a long Compaſs, being deceived, as they ſaid, by their Guide, returned at laſt to the Army. Nor could *Giovanni de' Medici*, who had only his own Regiment with him, take up his Quarters that Night in *Sorbolungo*; for

for the ſame Morning *Franceſco Maria* perceiving the Enemy in Motion, and imagining whither they were going, had with utmoſt Expedition put himſelf on his March with the whole Army, in which he met with no Impediment from the River, paſſing it at *Foſſombrone* over a Stone Bridge, and arrived at *Sorbolungo* before Night. On his Coming *Giovanni* finding himſelf unable to make Reſiſtance retired towards *Orciano*, being followed by the Enemy's Horſe, who took many of his Men Priſoners. When he was got into *Orciano* he repaired to the Quarters of *Lorenzo*, and told him, with the greateſt Indignation, that either by the Negligence or Cowardice of *Brunoro* and *Giovan Battiſta da Stabbia*, who were there preſent, he had that Day loſt the Opportunity of giving a happy Turn to the War. This was the firſt but not the only Piece of ill Conduct in the Army of *Lorenzo* by Miſ-improvement of Advantages, for afterwards they loſt greater Opportunities of Succeſs, and more pernicious Diſorders continually followed, bad Counſels attending upon adverſe Fortune. The Caſtles of *Orciano*

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Ill Conduct of *Lorenzo*.

A. D. 1517. and *Sorbolungo* are ſeated on Eminences, and diſtant one from another a little above two Miles; the Ground between them is full of little Hills and Mountains, and has a Caſtle called *Barti*, which was poſſeſſed by Part of the Troops of *Franceſco Maria*, and in ſo near a Vicinity of the Armies the next Day was ſpent in Skirmiſhes.

VARIOUS were the Opinions of the Generals in *Lorenzo*'s Army; ſome of them, but chiefly thoſe who had not Authority enough to ſway the Reſolution, were for marching up and attacking the Enemy, with a Deſign, perhaps, by vainly propoſing bold Counſels, without Hazard to themſelves or others, to acquire the Name of Courageous. But *Renzo* and *Vitello*, whoſe Advice was always followed by *Lorenzo*, diſſuaded him from that Opinion, becauſe the Enemies were ſtrongly poſted under the Shelter of a Caſtle, to which was no Acceſs but by a difficult Road. They were alſo againſt remaining in their preſent Situation, as of no Service, and not anſwering the End for which they had moved from *Peſaro*; for while *Sorbo-*

lungo

lungo was in the Poſſeſſion of *Franceſco Maria* it was very difficult to prevent him from ſupplying himſelf with Proviſions from the *Vicariato*. Theſe Reaſons being ſufficient to condemn all other Reſolutions, it was of Neceſſity concluded that the Army ſhould return the ſame Way; and that this Retreat might not have the Appearance of a Flight, it was propoſed that they ſhould not retire to their former Quarters, but go and take Poſſeſſion of *Monte Baroccio* and other Poſts which the Enemy had quitted, from which they might proceed towards *Urbino*. With this Reſolution the Army decamped the next Morning by Break of Day; but this Motion was believed not to be a Retreat but a Flight, and this Opinion being ſpread through their whole Camp, two Men at Arms fled away to *Franceſco Maria*, and informed him that his Enemies were ſeized with a Conſternation, and had broke up in manner of a Flight. The Duke therefore imagining himſelf almoſt ſure of Victory immediately moved with his Army by the Road that croſſes the Mountains, in Hopes of preventing the Enemy, and falling upon them as ſoon

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A. D. 1517. ſoon as they were deſcended into the Plain, as he ſuppoſed they would be ſure to take the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt Way, which if they had taken it would have been impoſſible for either Party to avoid coming to a Battle. But Fortune had ordered that, for the Sake of ſaving a Piece of Cannon left behind the Day before on the Breaking of one of its Carriage-Wheels, the Army of *Lorenzo* ſhould march and repaſs the *Metro* at the ſame *Mulino di Madonna*, which is a Place four Miles lower than the Paſſage to which they would have gone by the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt Road. On ſuch ſlight Cauſes and Accidents are often dependent in Wars Events of the greateſt Importance! All the Horſe and Foot waded the River, but very ſlowly, and thoſe that had paſſed were immediately drawn up in Order towards *Foſſombrone*. The Foot had already paſſed, and the Men at Arms and light Horſe, which were numerous and choice, began to ſkirmiſh with them. In the Conflict was taken *Goſtantino*, the Son, and you may as well ſay the Grandſon, of *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, for he begot him on his own Siſter.

Wherefore

Wherefore *Gian Pagolo*, who arrived in the Army not many Days before, and conducted the Vanguard, while he was buſied in making his utmoſt Efforts to recover him, ſpent ſo much Time that from the Vanguard he became the Rearguard, *Lorenzo*, who led the main Battle, ſucceeded him in the Van, and *Troilo Savello*, who conducted the Rearguard, became with his Troops the main Battle, for *Renzo* and *Vitello* with the Foot marched forwards. But as ſoon as *Franceſco Maria* and his Commanders perceived that the Enemy according as they had paſſed the River turned themſelves towards *Foſſombrone*, they were convinced that they had put themſelves in Motion not in order for a Flight, but to poſſeſs themſelves of *Monte Baroccio*. They had no longer therefore a Deſire to fight, which was grounded on an imaginary Terror of the Enemy, but left their Baggage, and immediately ran with all the Speed they could make, in no manner of Order, and with their Colours on their Shoulders, to ſeize upon a ſtrong Paſs on the River, called *Tavernelle*, where Nature has form'd

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A. D. 1517. a Ditch between Precipices, which runs quite acroſs the Plain to the Mountains, and cannot be paſſed but at one Place, which is levelled for the Road. If the Troops of *Lorenzo*, as they had paſſed the River, had directed their March that Way, and arrived firſt at that Paſs, the *Spaniards* would have been in very dangerous Circumſtances. But though *Lodovico*, Son of *Liverotto da Fermo*, who was the ſame Day arrived in the Army with a Thouſand Foot, and a *Spaniſh* Serjeant, who were both acquainted with the Country, gave Notice to *Lorenzo* and his Generals of the favourable Opportunity, they made no Advantage of it; for though the *German* and *Gaſcon* Infantry ſhewed a mighty Eagerneſs to engage, and the ſame Shouting for a Battle ran through all the Camp, to which *Lorenzo* ſeemed no way averſe, yet it was the Advice of *Renzo da Ceri* and *Vitello* by no means to encounter with the Enemy, but to retire to a neighbouring Hill, whence, without expoſing themſelves to any Danger, they might with their light Horſe do them very conſiderable Damage in their Paſſing of the River.

Great Overſight of the Eccleſiaſtic Generals.

Thus

Thus leaving that ſtrong Paſs open *Renzo* turned his March towards the Mountain, and the *Spaniards* had no ſooner ſeized the Paſs than they ſaluted the *Germans* that were near them with their Harquebuſes, and full of Alacrity ſhouted for Joy that they knew themſelves delivered from manifeſt Danger into a State of almoſt perfect Security. A. D. 1517.

THUS either thro' Imprudence or Cowardice, if Malignity had no Share in it, *Lorenzo*, in the Opinion of all Men, loſt that Day an Opportunity of Victory. The next Night his Army took up their Quarters at a neighbouring Caſtle called *Saltara*, but the Army of *Franceſco Maria* continued to march with the greateſt Speed for a good Part of the Night, till they arrived at their old Quarters at *Monte Baroccio*, preventing Two Thouſand Foot detached by *Lorenzo* to ſeize that Poſt. That General the next Day removed his Camp two Miles above *Saltara* towards the Mountain to a Place that looks towards *Monte Baroccio*, but lower, and on the Side towards the Sea. The Armies reſted Situation of the Armies.

A. D. 1517. in this Situation at the Diſtance of about a Mile one from another, but with greater Inconvenience to that of *Lorenzo*, which often ſuffered for Want of Proviſions; for as they were conveyed from *Peſaro* to *Fano* by Sea, it was neceſſary, whenever the Navigation was obſtructed by contrary Winds, to eſcort them by Land, in which they met with many Impediments from the light Horſe of *Franceſco Maria*, who, receiving conſtant Intelligence from the Peaſants of every Motion, how inconſiderable ſoever, of the Enemy, were continually ſcouring over all the Country.

At this Time *Franceſco Maria* ſent a Trumpet to ſhew the *Gaſcons* certain Letters which were found among the Papers of *Lorenzo*'s Secretaries, which together with Part of his Carriages had been taken by the Enemy's Horſe on the Day that he removed from the Caſtle of *Saltara*. By theſe Letters it appeared that the Pope being tired with the unconſcionable Exactions of the *Gaſcons*, whoſe Pay it had been neceſſary to increaſe every Month to a moſt immoderate Degree, deſired the General to

uſe

uſe all his Endeavours to induce them to return beyond the Mountains. On this Occaſion there had like to have been a Tumult among the *Gaſcons* that ſame Day, if *Carbon* their General, who was a *Gaſcon*, and *Lorenzo de' Medici* had not done all they could to perſuade them that theſe Letters were counterfeit, and a meer Trick of the Enemy, and by that Means reſtrained them. The Suſpicion, however, of ſuch a Diſorder, together with the Difficulty of receiving Proviſions, and the Inconvenience of their Situation, where the Danger of ſuſtaining ſome Loſs was without Compariſon greater than the Hopes of obtaining any Advantage, made them reſolve on Decamping, though it ſeemed ſomewhat diſgraceful to draw off ſo frequently from the Enemy, and to enter the *Vicariato* on that Side which is neareſt to the Sea, and to proceed as far as the Borders towards *Foſſombrone*. This Reſolution met with the Approbation of the whole Camp, but reflected great Shame and Diſhonour on *Renzo* and *Vitello*; for all the Soldiers cried out with one united Voice that if they had taken the ſame Reſolution at

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Lorenzo decamps.

A. D. 1517. at the Beginning they would have reduced the Enemies to great Straits by cutting off their Proviſions; nay *Lorenzo* himſelf more than others blamed them, complaining that either with a View to prolong the War for their own Profit, or to prevent him from making himſelf renowned in Arms, dreading perhaps the ſame Effects from his Greatneſs as their Family had ſuffered from the Greatneſs of Duke *Valentino*, they had brought into ſuch a Multitude of Difficulties and Dangers an Army ſo potent, and ſo ſuperior in Number and Strength to the Enemy.

Lorenzo then with his Army marched and laid Siege to *San Goſtanzo*, a Caſtle of the *Vicariato*, and tho' the Inhabitants, while the Cannon were playing on the Walls, begged Leave to capitulate, yet the General knowing it was eaſy to force the Place, and deſiring to mitigate the proud Spirits of the *Gaſcons*, drew off the other Soldiers from the Wall, and left none but the *Gaſcons* to give the Aſſault, that they might have all the Plunder to themſelves. After taking *Goſtanzo* the Army went the ſame Day and laid Siege to *Mondolfo*, two Miles

Miles distant, the strongest and best Castle of the *Vicariato*, seated on a Hill upon an Eminence, and surrounded by Ditches, and a Wall by no means contemptible, to which the Situation of the Place makes a Rampart, and garrisoned by two Hundred *Spanish* Foot. The Cannon were planted the same Night on the Side towards the South, but either through the Negligence or Inconsiderateness of *Renzo da Ceri*, who had the Direction, they were planted in an open Place, and without Ramparts, so that, before the Sun had been risen an Hour, eight Gunners, and a Multitude of Workmen were killed, and *Antonio Santa Croce*, General of the Artillery, was wounded by the Cannon of the Place. *Lorenzo* was greatly disturbed at this Loss, and tho' he was advised by all the Generals not to execute himself at so great a Hazard what might be committed to the Management of others, he went in Person to order and inspect the Construction of the Ramparts, where having fatigued himself till Noon, and cast up such Works as were necessary, he retired to go and take his Repose under

A. D. 1517.

some

A. D. 1517. ſome Trees, where he thought he ſhould be covered by the Riſing of the Mountain; but as he was going the Height of the Hill failing to cover him, he perceived on one Side a Fort ſituated towards the Weſt, and had no ſooner diſcovered it than he ſaw the Flaſh of a Harquebuſs; to avoid the Shot he threw himſelf with his Face towards the Earth, but before his Body reached the Ground the Bullet, which would otherwiſe have penetrated his Body, ſtruck him on the Top of the Head, and grazing on the Bone, paſſed along the Scalp, and came out towards the Nape of the Neck.

Lorenzo wounded.

AFTER *Lorenzo* was wounded, the Generals perceiving that tho' the Wall was in a ruinous Condition the Rampart was yet too high, began to work on a Mine, which they carried under a Tower contiguous to the Breach, and ſpringing it on the fifth Day it blew up the Tower with a great Piece of the adjoining Wall, on which an Aſſault was immediately given, but in a diſorderly, and, as it were, careleſs Manner, which produced no other Effect

Effect than what continually reſults from an ill diſpoſed Attack. But when Night came on the Garriſon expecting no Relief, becauſe *Franceſco Maria*, either becauſe he would not loſe his advantageous Situation, or for ſome other Reaſon, had not decamped from *Monte Baroccio*, ſurrendered on Condition of Safety to their Perſons and Effects, baſely leaving the Inhabitants a Prey to the Soldiers. *A. D.* 1517.

Mondolfo ſurrendered to *Lorenzo's* Army.

Lorenzo from his Wound being in very great Danger of his Life, the Pope ſent as Legate to the Army the Cardinal of *Santa Maria in Portico*, who, as bad Fortune had already joined itſelf to the worſt of Governments, entered on his Legation with unlucky Omens; for the Day after his Arrival in the Army a Quarrel happening to ariſe between an *Italian* and a *German* Foot-Soldier, and thoſe that were neareſt running into the Fray, and every one crying up the Name of his Nation, the Tumult ſpread itſelf over the whole Camp, ſo that none knowing whence or for what Reaſon it aroſe, all the Foot retired tumultuouſly to the Quarters

A dangerous Tumult in the Army.

A. D. 1517. ters of their Comerades to arm themſelves. But thoſe who in retiring happened to light upon Troops of another Tongue, had many of them their Throats cut; and, what was the Cauſe of the greater Diſorder, the *Italian* Foot, which went in good Order towards the Place where the Quarrel began, had their Quarters in the mean time plundered by the *Gaſcons*. The chief Officers of the Army aſſembled together with a Deſign to put a Stop to theſe Diſorders, but ſeeing the Tumult grown to a great Height and dangerous, every one abandoned the Care of the Public for his private Intereſts, and each Officer retiring to his Quarters immediately put his Men at Arms in Order, and thinking only how to bring them off in Safety, led them about a Mile out of the Camp. Only the Legate *Bibbiena*, with a Conſtancy and Readineſs becoming his Honour and Office, did not abandon the common Cauſe, tho' oftentimes put in great Danger of his Life by the Fury of the enraged Multitude. By his pious Endeavours, though not without great Difficulty, and the Interpoſition of many Officers of the Foot, the

Tumult

Tumult was at length appeaſed, after there had periſhed in ſeveral Quarters of the Camp above an Hundred *German* Foot, above Twenty *Italian*, and ſome *Spaniſh* Foot. This Accident was the Cauſe that (as it was doubted that if the Army ſtay'd together the Foot, being exaſperated by the Injuries they had received, would on any ſlight Occaſion fall together by the Ears) a Reſolution was taken to go upon no Enterpriſe for the preſent, but to keep the Army ſeparate. Wherefore the Men at Arms belonging to the Church and the *Florentines*, with the *Italian* Foot, had their Quarters aſſigned in the City of *Peſaro*; for as to the *French* Lances, the Differences between the Pontiff and King being not yet adjuſted, they had never moved from *Rimini*. The *Gaſcon* Foot encamped in a Plain about half a Mile from that City, and the reſt of the Infantry were diſtributed upon the Mountain *della Imperiale*, on which is a Palace built by the antient *Malateſti*; and they were diſpoſed in ſuch Order that the *Spaniards* had their Quarters on the Top of the Mountain, the *Germans* lower on the Deſcent, and the *Corſicans* A. D. 1517.

A. D. 1517. *Corſicans* at the Foot of the Mountain. In this Situation they remained three and twenty Days, during which there happened no Action but Skirmiſhes between the light Horſe. For *Franceſco Maria*, having no Grounds to hope for a Victory over ſo numerous an Enemy in the open Field, and as little Reaſon to expect Succeſs in the Siege of any Town while they lay ſo near him, was only intent to preſerve what he had acquired.

But on the four and twentieth Day the Duke decamped in the Night from *Monte Baroccio*, and arrived by Break of Day on the Top of the Mountain at the Quarters of the *Spaniards*, with all or ſome of whom, it is believed from what appeared in the Progreſs of the Affair, he had held ſecret Intelligence. Immediately upon his Arrival the *Spaniards* of his own Party cried out to the others, that, if they intended to ſave themſelves, they ſhould follow them; at which Call the greater Part of *Lorenzo*'s *Spaniards*, each Man putting on his Head a Twig with green Leaves,

as

as the others had, went over to them, only the Officers, with about Eight Hundred Foot, retired to *Peſaro*. Thus joined they went and beat up the Quarters of the *Germans*, who had no Watch on that Side, as imagining themſelves in Security from the Neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*; finding them thus unguarded, they killed and wounded above Six Hundred of them, the reſt flying down to the *Corſicans*, with whom they joined, and marched all off together towards *Peſaro*. The *Gaſcons* perceived the Tumult, and got under Arms, but would not ſo much as ſtir out of their Places.

A. D. 1517. Duke of *Urbino* beats up the Enemy's Quarters.

FRANCESCO MARIA, having done this Execution upon the *Germans*, and drawn over the greater Part of the *Spaniards* into his Service, encamped with his Army between *Urbino* and *Peſaro*, full of Hopes that he ſhould be joined by the *Gaſcons*, and by thoſe *German* Foot who had at the ſame Time been broken and quitted the Camp of *Lautrech*, and had ever ſince marched, lodged, and proceeded in Conjunction with them. Among the *Gaſcons*

A. D. 1517. was one *Ambra*, who was emulous of the General *Carbone*, being a young Gentleman of more noble Blood, a Kinſman of *Lautrech*, and of greater Authority with them. This *Ambra* had for many Days been ſecretly contriving to carry over theſe *Gaſcon* Foot with him to *Franceſco Maria*. And he had an Opportunity given him by their Diſcontent, for they were not ſatisfied with an immoderate Increaſe of their Pay, but made freſh and inſolent Demands, and ſtood upon much higher Terms, with which the Pope's Miniſtry refuſing to comply, *Carbone*, and the General of the *French* Lances, who came from *Rimini* to *Peſaro* on that Account, interpoſed for bringing them to an Agreement. But five or ſix Days after what had happened to the *Spaniards* and *Germans* at the Mountain *della Imperiale*, *Franceſco Maria* with his whole Army appeared in their Neighbourhood, on which Part of the *Gaſcons* together with *Ambra* drew up in Order of Battle with ſix Field Pieces, and, followed by the *Germans*, went over to him, *Carbone* in vain endeavouring by Intreaties and the warmeſt Expoſtulations to retain

Gaſcons and *Germans* deſert to the Duke.

retain them, ſo that there remained with him only Seven Officers, and Thirteen Hundred Foot, for all the reſt with the *Germans* abandoned him; and as in military Affairs Diſorders always beget Diſorders, the *Italian* Foot ſeeing the Neceſſity there was of them, the next Morning made a Mutiny, and it was neceſſary to grant their extravagant Demands in their Payments to appeaſe them, as little Shame and as much Avarice being found in the Officers as in the Soldiers. And it was really Matter of Admiration that in the Army of *Franceſco Maria*, in which the Soldiers received no Money, there ſhould be ſo much Concord, Obedience and Unanimity, which proceeded not ſo much from the Abilities and Authority of the General, as it was ſaid in high Commendation of *Annibal* the *Carthaginian*, as from the Ardor and Obſtinacy of the Soldiers; and, on the contrary, that in the Army of the Church, where exceſſive Payments were never wanting at due Times, there ſhould be ſo much Confuſion and Diſorder, and ſo great a Deſire in the Troops to deſert to the Enemy; whence

A. D. 1517.

A. D. 1517. it appears that it is not ſo much by Money as by ſome other Cauſes that Concord and Obedience are oftentimes preſerved in Armies.

THE Legate and others who aſſiſted in Council being terrified at ſo many Misfortunes, after long Debates on procuring ſome Remedy for the preſent diſtreſſed Circumſtances, being neither more prudent, nor better ſupplied with proper Means for making Proviſions after Diſorders had happened, than they had been to provide that they ſhould not happen at all, incited alſo by private Paſſions and Intereſts, concluded that the Pope ſhould be adviſed to reſtore the *Bentivogli* to *Bologna*, before that Family, taking Encouragement from the declining State of his Affairs, or at the Inſtigation of others, ſhould make ſome Movement; and how difficult it would be for him in that Caſe to make Reſiſtance appeared by the hard Struggles he had to ſuſtain the War only in one Place. Wherefore, after they had, to give the more Authority to ſuch Advice, or for the better Juſtification of every one in all Events,

got

got the Opinion of all the Members drawn up in Writing, and ſubſcribed by the Legate, and Archbiſhop *Orſino*, one attached by antient Friendſhip, and the other by Kindred, to the *Bentivogli*, and by all the General Officers, they ſent the Paper by *Ruberto Boſchetto*, a *Modeneſe* Nobleman, to the Pope. But his Holineſs not only rejected the ſame with Diſdain, but bemoaned himſelf with very bitter Complaints that his Miniſters, and thoſe who had received ſo many Favours of him, or might at all Opportunities expect Marks of his Benevolence, ſhould ſo far forget their Duty, and have ſo little Love for him, as to propoſe ſuch Counſels as were no leſs pernicious than the Miſchiefs which his Enemies did him; but he expreſſed his Reſentments principally againſt the Archbiſhop *Orſino*, becauſe he had perhaps been the chief Agent in ſtimulating the reſt to this Counſel; and this Indignation of the Pontiff is ſuppoſed to have been the Cauſe that the Archbiſhop was diſappointed of the Dignity of the Cardinalſhip, to which he was deſtined, by univerſal Expectation, at the firſt Promotion.

A. D. 1517.

Pope rejects Advice to reſtore the *Bentivogli*.

A. D. 1517.

BUT *Franceſco Maria*, from ſo conſiderable an Increaſe of his Forces, and Diminution of thoſe of his Adverſaries, raiſed his Thoughts to greater Undertakings, to which he was urged alſo by Neceſſity, for the Troops which he had brought with him had been near three Months without Pay, and it was out of his Power to find any Money for thoſe who lately came over to him; and his Dutchy being exhauſted, and in a manner all ſpoiled, the Soldiers were not only deprived of all Means of maintaining themſelves on the Prey and Plunder of thoſe Territories, but could not without Difficulty be ſupplied with Proviſions from thence ſufficient to keep them from ſtarving. But in the Choice of the Enterpriſe he was obliged to follow the Will of others; for as to himſelf he was deſirous, for the Eſtabliſhment of his State, before he made any other Attempt, to make a freſh Attack upon *Fano*, or ſome other of the Towns, on the Sea Coaſt, but on account of the Inclination of the Soldiers, who were greedy of Prey and Rapine, he reſolved

ſolved rather to turn his Arms againſt *Tuſcany*, where, becauſe it was a plentiful Country, that ſuſpected no Invaſion, and was but ſlenderly provided for Reſiſtance, it was expected to meet with vaſt Booty. Beſides this, he was in Hopes that, by Means of *Carlo Baglione* and *Borgheſe Petrucci*, he might be enabled to effect a Revolution in *Perugia* and *Siena*, which would be of no ſmall Advantage to his Affairs, as well as troubleſome and dangerous to thoſe of the Pontiff and his Nephew. The next Day, therefore, after he had been joined by the *Gaſcons*, he moved with his Army towards *Perugia*, but as ſoon as he was arrived in the Plains of *Agobbio* he reſolved to diſcover his Suſpicion, or rather almoſt certain Knowledge of the Treachery of Colonel *Maldonato* and of others concerned with him in the ſame Cauſe. The Plot was formed, and brought to Light in the following Manner: When the Army paſſed through *Romagna*, *Suares*, a *Spaniſh* Officer, remained behind under Pretence of Sickneſs, and ſuffering himſelf on purpoſe to be taken Priſoner, was brought to *Lorenzo* at *Ceſena*, where he

A. D. 1517.

Plot againſt the Duke of *Urbino*.

A. D. 1517. told him, on the Part of *Maldonato* and two other *Spaniſh* Officers, that the Cauſe of their joining with *Franceſco Maria* had been no other than a Deſign by that Means to take an Occaſion to do ſome ſignal Piece of Service to the Pontiff and to him, ſince it had not been in their Power to prevent that Movement from taking Place, promiſing him in their Name that as ſoon as they had an Opportunity they would put it in Execution. *Franceſco Maria*, who was ignorant of the Conſpiracy, began to be ſuſpicious from ſome Words unadviſedly ſpoken by *Renzo da Ceri* to a Drummer of the *Spaniards*, when he demanded of him in Raillery, "When will thoſe *Spaniards* give us up your Duke for a Priſoner?" Theſe Words made a deep Impreſſion on *Franceſco Maria*, and had given him Occaſion to watch very diligently whether there were any treaſonable Practices in his Army, till at laſt he was ſatisfied, from ſome Papers that were intercepted with *Lorenzo*'s Carriages, that *Maldonato* was the Author of ſome perfidious Deſign.

A. D. 1517.

THE Duke had hitherto kept the whole Affair ſecret, but now thought it not convenient to diſſemble any longer; and therefore calling an Aſſembly of all the *Spaniſh* Foot, and ſtanding on a raiſed Place in the Midſt of them, he began with thanking them in moſt affectionate Expreſſions for the Services which they had with ſo much Readineſs performed for his Sake, confeſſing that neither modern Times, nor antient Hiſtories could afford an Inſtance of any Prince or General who ſtood under ſuch great Obligations to Troops of War, as he knew himſelf indebted in to them, conſidering that though he had no Money, nor Means to aſſure them of any Reward, ſince if he had recovered his whole State, he would ſtill be but a petty Sovereign, had never done them any Kindneſs, was not of the ſame Nation, nor had ever ſerved with them in the Field, they had yet been ſo readily diſpoſed to follow him againſt a Prince of ſuch Grandeur and Reputation, not allured by any Hopes of Prey, for they knew they were to be conducted into a poor

Duke harangues the *Spaniards* on *Maldonato*'s Treaſon.

A. D. 1517. poor and barren Country: That for theſe Services he had no Way to teſtify his Acknowledgements but by ſincere and hearty Profeſſions of Good-will and Affection, but that he was highly pleaſed and rejoiced that they had acquired ſuch wonderful Renown not only through all *Italy*, but through every Region of *Europe*, every one extolling to the Skies their uncommon Fidelity and Valour, that being very few in Number, without Money, without Artillery, without any of the neceſſary Proviſions of War, they had ſo often made an Army turn their Backs, which was moſt abundantly ſupplied with Money and all other Things, and was compoſed of ſo many warlike Nations, and had manfully reſiſted the Power of a very great Pontiff and of the State of the *Florentines*, in Conjunction with the Name and Authority of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, deſpiſing the Orders of their own Sovereigns that they might maintain the Faith and the Fame of military Men: That as theſe Conſiderations gave him inconceivable Pleaſure for the Glory of their Name, ſo on the contrary whatever had a Tendency

dency to obſcure ſo great a Luſtre, affected him with incredible Grief: that it was with ſore Unwillingneſs and ineſtimable Sorrow of Mind that he was induced to lay open ſome Matters which would conſtrain him to offend ſome of them, to each of whom he had before reſolved to dedicate his humble Service in particular during his Life: But, however, that the Diſorder which was begun might not increaſe through his Silence, and that the Malignity of ſome Few might not caſt a Blemiſh on ſo great a Glory acquired by that Army, and it being alſo more fit and reaſonable that he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be influenced by his Regard to the Honour of them all rather than by his Deference to a Few, he was obliged to acquaint them that there were in that Army four Perſons that were plotting to betray the Glory and Safety of the whole Army; of his own he made no Mention nor Complaint, becauſe he had met with ſo many Diſaſters, and been ſo bitterly perſecuted by Fortune without his Fault, that he ſometimes wiſhed to die rather than live; but his Obligations to them, and his unbounded Love,

A. D. 1517.

A. D. 1517. Love, which they had ſo richly deſerved, would not ſuffer him to conceal from them that Colonel *Maldonato*, who ſhould have had more Regard to the common Safety and Honour; Captain *Suares*, who, to give a Beginning to this atrocious Project, feigned himſelf ſick that he might be taken by the Enemies in *Romagna*; and two other Captains, had, in purſuance of their villainous and wicked Counſels, promiſed to betray them to *Lorenzo de' Medici*: That this Deſign had been interrupted by his Vigilance, which rendering them ſecure, he was not willing before this preſent to diſcover ſo great a Crime, but not thinking fit to expoſe himſelf and all the reſt any longer to ſo great a Danger, he had now revealed to them what he had known long before: The Truth of theſe Things appeared from authentic Letters found among the intercepted Papers of *Lorenzo*, it was confirmed alſo by many apparent Signs and Circumſtances, all which he would lay before them, that they might be enabled to judge of ſo horrid a Villainy, and after hearing the Charge, and what the Accuſed had to ſay in their own Defence, they might

might come to ſuch a Reſolution as they ſhould think moſt conformable to Juſtice, and to the Honour and Advantage of the Army. *A. D.* 1517.

WHEN he had ended his Speech he ordered the Letters to be read, and all the Circumſtances to be laid open, which being heard by the whole Aſſembly with the utmoſt Attention, it could not be doubted but that *Maldonato*, *Suares*, and the other two Captains would by the common Judgment, without hearkening to any Pleadings, be condemned to die; and the Sentence was immediately executed by making them paſs between Files of Pikes; and having by this Puniſhment, as they ſaid, purged the Army from all Malignity, they purſued their March towards *Perugia*. Into this City had before entered *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, who had marched from *Peſaro* on the firſt Intelligence of the Enemy's Deſign, and put himſelf in a Poſture of Defence, having armed many of his Friends, and introduced into the Place a Multitude of the Inhabitants of the Territory and the neighbouring Places. *Maldonato*, &c. executed. Duke of *Urbino* invades *Tuſcany*.

The

A. D. 1517. The Legate alſo had ordered to his Aſſiſtance *Camillo Orſino* his Son-in-law, an Officer of the *Florentines*, with the Men at Arms under his Command, and Two Hundred and Fifty light Horſe. Theſe Forces, it was believed, were ſufficient to ſuſtain the Attacks of the Enemy, eſpecially ſince many Preparations had been alſo made to obſtruct their Progreſs, for *Vitello* with his Regiment of Men at Arms was marched to *Citta di Caſtello*, as was alſo *Siſe* with the *French* Lances, which ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the Confederacy between the Pontiff and the King were no longer ſuſpected; and *Lorenzo de' Medici*, who being cured of his Wound was lately come from *Ancona* to *Peſaro*, was gone Poſt to *Florence* to make the neceſſary Proviſions for the Preſervation of that State, and of the neighbouring Cities; and it was reſolved that the Legate with the reſt of the Army, in order to oblige *Franceſco Maria* to abandon his Enterpriſe on *Tuſcany*, ſhould enter the Dutchy of *Urbino*, which had no other Defence than the Inhabitants of the Towns.

A. D. 1517.

FRANCESCO MARIA approached *Perugia* not without Hopes of ſome Intelligence, and indeed it happened that *Gian Pagolo* riding through the City was attacked in the Middle of the Street by an Inhabitant of the Place, who miſſing his Blow was immediately cut to Pieces by the Concourſe of *Pagolo*'s Attendants, and in the Tumult he cauſed ſome others of thoſe whom he ſuſpected to be killed. Thus having eſcaped from Snares he ſeemed to be free from all Danger, for the Enemy, who had now lain ſeveral Days before *Perugia*, were not ſtrong enough to make an Attempt upon it; and yet, when the Pontiff leaſt expected it, he entered into an Agreement with the hoſtile Army, alledging, in his Juſtification, that the People of *Perugia*, whom it was not in his Power to reſiſt, would no longer ſuffer the Damages which were done their Country. By this Agreement *Gian Pagolo* was to pay that Army Ten Thouſand Ducats, to grant them Proviſions for four Days, and not to bear Arms againſt *Franceſco Maria* during that War, and the Enemy was immediately

Agrees with *Gian Pagolo*.

A. D. 1517. diately to quit the *Perugian*. The Pope was much concerned at this Tranſaction, and took it very ill, for it confirmed him in the Opinion he had conceived of *Gian Pagolo* from the very Beginning of the War, when he marched ſo very ſlowly with the promiſed Auxiliaries to the Army, that, out of a Jealouſy of the Power of *Lorenzo*, he was deſirous that *Franceſco Maria* ſhould continue in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Urbino*. To this Conſideration might be added that, while *Pagolo* ſtayed in the Camp with *Lorenzo*, he had been diſcontented that *Renzo* and *Vitello* had greater Authority than himſelf. The Memory of theſe Things was, perhaps, in a great meaſure the Cauſe of his future Calamities.

THE Duke, after this Agreement with the *Perugians*, directed his March towards *Citta di Caſtello*, where after ſome Excurſions, with a Deſign to enter the *Florentine* Dominions on the Side of *Borgo a San Sepolcro*, the Danger of his own State induced him to take another Reſolution. For the Legate *Bibbiena* having newly liſted

liſted great Numbers of *Italian* Foot, and following the Reſolution taken at *Peſaro*, had with the reſt of the Army approached *Foſſombrone*, and planting his Batteries againſt it took it on the third Day, and plundered it. After this he proceeded to beſiege *Pergola*, where on the ſecond Day he was joined by Count *Potenza* with Four Hundred *Spaniſh* Lances ſent by the King of *Spain* to the Pope's Aſſiſtance. There was not a Soldier in *Pergola*, but only a *Spaniſh* Captain with a Multitude of Peaſants, who under a Terror began to treat of ſurrendering; but while they were treating, the Captain who ſtood upon the Wall having been wounded in the Face, the Soldiers gave the Aſſault without any regular Order or Command of their Officers, and took the Town by Force. From *Pergola* it was deſigned to march and lay Siege to *Cagli*, but Advice being received that *Franceſco Maria*, being informed of the Loſs of *Foſſombrone*, was returning with great Speed into that State, it was reſolved to retire. Wherefore on the ſame Night that the Legate received that Notice he decamped from *Pergola*, and arrived

A. D. 1517.

Drives the Legate out of his Dutchy.

A. D. 1517. rived at *Montelione*, and had begun to pitch his Tents with a Deſign to lodge there that Night, when having freſh Intelligence that the Speed of the Enemy had been greater than had been imagined, and that they had diſpatched away before the reſt a Thouſand Horſe, each of whom had a Foot Soldier mounted behind him, in order to oblige them to march more ſlowly, that their Army might have Time to come up with them, they proceeded ſeven Miles forward to a Place called *il Boſco*, from whence the next Morning they departed before Day, and arrived in the Evening at *Fano*, having the Cavalry of the Enemy juſt at their Backs, ſo that if they had delayed to retire but four Hours longer, their Flight would have been difficult, or a Battle unavoidable.

BUT the Affairs of the Pope at this Juncture went on with no ſmoother a Current in other Tranſactions than in the Toils and Dangers of War, ſince he was in imminent Danger of his Life. For *Alfonſo* Cardinal of *Siena* was highly provoked that the Pontiff, unmindful of the

Fatigues

Fatigues and Dangers that *Pandolfo Petrucci* his Father had undergone for re- A. D. 1517.
ſtoring him and his Brothers to the State of *Florence*, and of the Efforts uſed by himſelf, and in Conjunction with the other young Cardinals, in the Conclave for his Aſſumption to the Pontificate, had, in Recompenſe for ſuch great Benefits, cauſed *Borgheſe* his Brother and himſelf to be driven out of *Siena*, whence being deprived of his patrimonial Eſtate he was unable to ſupport with his wonted Splendor the Dignity of the Cardinalſhip. Burning therefore with Hatred, and almoſt reduced to Deſpair, he had formed a Deſign, prompted by his youthful Heat of Blood, to give him a mortal Blow with his own Hand; but being reſtrained more by the Danger and Difficulty than by the Heinouſneſs of the Fact, and the inconceivable Offence it muſt give to all Chriſtians for a Cardinal with his own Hands to murder a Pope, he had turned all his Thoughts upon ſending him out of the World by Poiſon with the Aſſiſtance of *Battiſta da Vercelli*, a famous Surgeon and his intimate Friend. This Reſolution, if ſo mad

Plot againſt the Pope's Life.

A. D. 1517. a Piece of Villainy deſerves that Name, was to have been executed by the following Means: The Surgeon, as the only Way to introduce himſelf, was to exert his utmoſt in boaſting his conſummate Skill, that ſo the Pope, who, on account of an old Fiſtula *in Ano*, often uſed the Help of Men of his Profeſſion, conceiving an Opinion of his Abilities, might ſend for him, and commit himſelf to his Care. But the Impatience of *Alfonſo* threw many Difficulties in this Way of Proceeding; for while the Affair was protracted to ſome Length, the Cardinal, not knowing how to contain himſelf from launching out publicly into loud Complaints of the Pope's Ingratitude, rendered himſelf more and more obnoxious, and fell under a Suſpicion that he was deviſing ſome Miſchief againſt the State, till at length he was in a manner conſtrained for his own Security to depart from *Rome*, but left *Antonio Nino* his Secretary in that City. As there was a conſtant Intercourſe maintained between him and his Secretary by Letters, Pope *Leo* diſcovered by ſome of them which were intercepted that a Plot was in Agitation

tation againſt his Life. Wherefore he invited *Alfonſo* to *Rome* under a Pretence that he deſigned to provide ſome Redreſs for his Affairs, and granted him a Paſs, and with his own Mouth gave his Word of Honour to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador that he would not hurt him. Under this Security, though conſcious of ſo great a Villainy, *Alfonſo* imprudently appeared before the Pope, where he and *Bandinello* Cardinal *de' Sauli*, a *Genoeſe*, and who had alſo been a Favourer of the Promotion of *Leo* to the Pontificate, but was ſo intimate with the Cardinal of *Siena* that he was thought privy to the whole Affair, were ordered into Cuſtody by the Pope in the ſame Preſence Chamber, from whence they were committed Priſoners to the Caſtle of *Sant' Angelo*. Immediate Orders were alſo given for impriſoning *Battiſta da Vercelli* the Surgeon, who was then practiſing his Art in *Florence*, and ſending him without Delay to *Rome*. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador uſed his Endeavours by the moſt ardent Complaints and Proteſts to have *Alfonſo* ſet at Liberty, alledging that the Pope's Word given to him as he was the Am- *A. D.* 1517

A. D. 1517. baſſador of the King of *Spain* was the ſame as if he had given it to the King himſelf. But the Pontiff anſwered that no Paſs how ample ſoever, and full of ſtrong and ſpecial Clauſes, was ever intended for a Security in a Crime that affected the Life of the Pope, unleſs it had been nominally ſpecified in it: That there was the ſame Exemption in the Caſe of Poiſoning, which was ſo greatly repugnant to divine and human Laws, and to the common Sentiments of Mankind, that it had Need of a particular and preciſe Expreſſion. The Pope appointed in Chief for their Examination *Mario Peruſco*, a *Roman*, an Attorney of the Exchequer, by whom being examined with Rigour they confeſſed the Plot as deviſed by *Alfonſo* with the Privity of *Bandinello*. This Confeſſion was confirmed by *Battiſta da Vercelli*, and by *Pocointeſta da Bagnacavallo*, who had long been Captain of the Guard ſtationed in the Square of *Siena*, under *Pandolfo* the Father, and *Borgheſe* the Brother of the Cardinal; which two Criminals were publicly quartered. But after this Confeſſion in the next Conſiſtory there

there was apprehended and ſent alſo to the ſaid Caſtle *Rafaello Riario*, Cardinal of *San Giorgio*, and Chamberlain of the Apoſtolic See, who for his Riches, the Magnificence of his Court, and the long Time he had been in that high Station, was without Doubt the principal Cardinal of the College. He confeſſed that the Plot had never been communicated to him, but that the Cardinal of *Siena*, in his Complaints and Menaces againſt the Pope, had ſeveral Times thrown out Speeches by which he might have underſtood that he had it in his Thoughts, whenever he had an Opportunity, to do ſome Violence to the Perſon of his Holineſs. A. D. 1517.

THE Pope after this in another Conſiſtory, in which the Cardinals, not accuſtomed to be violated, ſat under great Dejection and Terror, complained of the barbarous and wicked Conſpiracy againſt his Life by thoſe who by their high Dignity and Station, as principal Members of the Apoſtolic See, were above all others obliged to defend it. He pathetically lamented his Misfortune, and that it had Pope complains in Conſiſtory.

A. D. 1517. availed him nothing that he had been, and continued to be, kind and beneficent to every one, and even to a Degree that many had blamed him for it: Adding that there were yet other Cardinals concerned in the Guilt, to whom, if they freely confeſſed their Fault before the Conſiſtory was diſmiſſed, he was ready to ſhew Mercy, and to pardon them; but after that Conſiſtory was ended he would uſe all the Severity of Juſtice againſt every one who ſhould be found an Accomplice in ſo great a Crime. On theſe Words *Adriano* Cardinal of *Corneto*, and *Franceſco Soderini* Cardinal of *Volterra*, kneeling before the Seat of the Pontiff, ſaid that the Cardinal of *Siena* had made uſe of the ſame Expreſſions to them which he had uſed to the Cardinal of *San Giorgio*.

THE Examinations being finiſhed and publiſhed in Conſiſtory, *Alfonſo* and *Bandinello* were by Sentence given in a public Conſiſtory deprived of the Dignity of the Cardinalſhip, degraded, and delivered over to the Secular Court. *Alfonſo* the next

next Night was ſecretly ſtrangled in Priſon, but the Puniſhment of *Bandinello* was by the Pope's Grace changed into perpetual Impriſonment, though not long after the Pontiff not only freed him out of Priſon, but on the Payment of a certain Sum of Money reſtored him to the Cardinalſhip, even though he had juſter Reaſon to be angry with him, becauſe he had conſtantly participated of his Favours and Benefits, and had no other Cauſe for his Diſaffection than his great Intimacy with the Cardinal of *Siena*, and a Reſentment that the Cardinal *de' Medici* ſhould be preferred before him in a Competition for certain Benefices. There were not wanting, however, ſome, perhaps malignant, Interpreters, who were of Opinion that before he was out of Cuſtody the Pope had ordered a Potion to be given him of that Kind of Poiſon which does not kill ſuddenly, but waſtes away in Proceſs of Time the Life of the Patient. With the Cardinal of *San Giorgio*, the Pontiff having a Reſpect for his Age, Authority, and the great Friendſhip that had long ſubſiſted between them before his Pontificate, dealt more gently becauſe his Offence

A. D. 1517. Cardinal *Petrucci* ſtrangled.

A. D. 1517. Offence was leſs, though the Laws made and interpreted by Princes for the Security of their States intend that in the Crime of High Treaſon the Puniſhment of Death ſhould be inflicted not only on the Plotter, but on whoever is privy or any Way conſenting to a Conſpiracy againſt the State, and much more when the Life of the Prince is concerned. Wherefore though, for maintaining the Authority of Severity in the ſame Sentence, he was deprived of the Cardinalſhip, he was almoſt as ſoon, on obliging himſelf to pay a large Sum of Money, reſtored by an Act of Grace, except to his active and paſſive Vote, in which alſo within a Year he was reinſtated. *Adriano* and *Volterra* were not moleſted, except that they privately paid a certain Sum of Money; but neither of them believing that they could ſtay in *Rome* with Security or with convenient Dignity, *Volterra* with the Pope's Leave retired to *Fondi*, where he lived under the Protection of *Proſpero Colonna* till *Leo*'s Death; and as for *Adriano*, he left *Rome* in private, but, whatever became of him, he was never,

never, as far as we know, found nor ſeen in any Place afterwards. *A. D.* 1517.

THIS melancholy Event obliged the Pope to think on a Creation of new Cardinals, ſince he was ſenſible that almoſt the whole College, by the Puniſhment of their Brethren, and for other Reaſons, were greatly diſaffected to him: But in this Tranſaction he proceeded ſo immoderately that he declared in one Morning in Conſiſtory, the College conſenting out of Fear, and not of free Will, no fewer than One and Thirty Cardinals; in which numerous Promotion he found Means to anſwer ſeveral Ends, and to chuſe out of all Ranks and Qualities; for he promoted two of his Siſter's Sons, and ſome of thoſe who had before and ſince his Pontificate been devoted to his Service, and acceptable to the Cardinal *de' Medici* and himſelf on ſeveral Accounts, but were in no other Reſpect capable of ſo great a Dignity. He ſatisfied alſo, by creating ſo many Cardinals, the Deſires of great Princes, in advancing them at their Recommendation. Many of them he created for

A Promotion of Cardinals.

A. D. 1517. for Money, finding himſelf exhauſted and in preſſing Neceſſity; ſome of them were in great Reputation for their Learning, and Three were the Generals, or Superiors of the Orders of *St. Auſtin*, *St. Dominic*, and *St. Francis*, and, what is very rare in one and the ſame Promotion, two of the Family of *Trivulzi*, to which he was induced becauſe one of them was his Chamberlain, and from a Deſire to ſatisfy *Gianjacopo*, and the other was in Repute for his Learning, which was aſſiſted with a Sum of Money. But what occaſioned greater Admiration was the Promotion of *Franciotto Orſino* and *Pompeo Colonna*, and five other *Romans* of the principal Families that followed this or that Faction, in which he took his Meaſures contrary to the Reſolutions of his Predeceſſor, but eſteemed imprudent, and not very fortunate in the Event to his Friends and Family. For the Greatneſs of the *Roman* Barons being conſtantly attended with the Depreſſion and Diſquietude of the Pontiffs, *Julius*, on a Failure of the antient Cardinals of thoſe Families which *Alexander* VI. had bitterly perſecuted that he might deprive them of their

their States, had never conſented to replace them out of the ſame Stock; but *Leo* did the contrary, and the more immoderately becauſe it could not be ſaid that he was induced by perſonal Merit, for *Franciotto* was promoted from the Profeſſion of Arms to the Dignity of the Cardinalſhip, and againſt *Pompeo* it might be juſtly objected that, though he were a Biſhop, he had taken Occaſion from the Sickneſs of Pope *Julius* to excite the *Roman* People to an Inſurrection againſt the ſacerdotal Government, for which Reaſon that Pontiff had deprived him of the epiſcopal Dignity. A. D. 1517.

Motions of the Duke of *Urbino*.

In the mean time *Franceſco Maria*, who after the Retreat, or rather Flight of the Enemy, had never been able to bring them to an Engagement, being at the Head of a very potent Army, for on the Report that he met with no Reſiſtance in the Field, he had a continual Acceſſion of freſh Troops allured by the Hopes of Plunder, entered the *Marca*, where *Fabriano* and many other Towns compounded with him for Contributions in Money

to

A. D. 1517. to redeem themſelves from Plunder and the Ravaging of their Territories; ſome other Towns were ſacked, and amongſt them the City of *Ieſi* while the Inhabitants were treating of a Compoſition. After this the Duke with his Army approached *Ancona*, for the Defence of which City the Legate had ſent ſome Troops; here he ſpent ſeveral Days to the great Detriment of his Affairs, becauſe of the Loſs of Time, not in fighting, but in treating of an Agreement with the *Anconitans*, who at laſt to ſave their Harveſt, which was juſt ripe, paid him Eight Thouſand Ducats, not tranſgreſſing in other Reſpects their accuſtomed Obedience to the Church. He then made an Attack on the City of *Oſimo* with little Succeſs, and at length ſat down before the Town of *Corinaldo*, in which were Two Hundred foreign Foot, who in Conjunction with the Townſmen made ſo gallant a Defence, that after a Siege of two and twenty Days, deſpairing of Conqueſt, he decamped and marched off with great Diminution of the Terror of that Army, which had not taken one Town of thoſe that had refuſed to make a Compoſition.

position. This ill Succeſs was not owing to the Unſkilfulneſs of the Generals, or to the Cowardice of the Soldiers, but purely to the Want of Cannon, of which they had very few, and thoſe but ſmall Pieces, and they were almoſt deſtitute of Powder. It had, however, been found neceſſary to give a voluntary Demonſtration of their Conſtancy and Valour to thoſe Towns which would not ſubmit to them, becauſe the Generals of the Eccleſiaſtical Army, the Chief of whom was the Count of *Potenza*, though they had ſent Troops to ravage the Country home to the Walls of *Urbino*, and *Siſe*, being returned from *Citta di Caſtello* into *Romagna* had afterwards entered into *Monte Feltro*, and taken by Force *Secchiano* and ſome other ſmall Towns, were all aſſembled and encamped five Miles from *Peſaro*, with a Reſolution not to ſuccour any Place, and to make no Motion, unleſs it ſhould be neceſſary in order to retreat. For if their Meaſures had ſucceeded ſo unhappily when they were ſo much ſuperior in Force, they could not expect that now, when they found themſelves ſo greatly inferior in Infantry,

A. D. 1517.

Cautious Conduct of the Eccleſiaſtic Army.

A. D. 1517. fantry, the Troops would have the Boldneſs ſo much as to endure the Report of the Approach of the Enemy. In this Reſolution they acted in Conformity to the Will of the Pontiff, and were confirmed in it by their Hopes of the Arrival of Six Thouſand *Swiſs*, whom the Pope, following the Advice of the King of *France*, had ſent Orders to enliſt. For that King, after the Confederacy was made, was deſirous that the Pope ſhould get the Victory, though he entertained the ſame Suſpicions of him that he had before, his Jealouſy being kept alive by the Accounts which were given him by *Galeazzo Viſconti* and *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, the Firſt of whom being reſtored from Exile to his Country, and the other, becauſe he did not think himſelf ſufficiently recompenſed for his Services by the Emperor, had entered themſelves, on honourable Conditions, into the King's Pay, and had related that the Pope had taken great Pains to ſet the Emperor and the *Swiſs* againſt him. But the King was much more concerned at the Pontiff's privately engaging in a new Confederacy with the Emperor and the Kings

of

of *Spain* and *England*, which though it were lawful for him to do, becauſe it was only defenſive, yet gave him no little Diſturbance, and he was deſirous that the Pope ſhould be delivered from the War for Fear leſt, if he found him too backward in his Aſſiſtance, he ſhould enter into a ſtricter Alliance with the ſaid Princes; beſides he began to be jealous and uneaſy at the Proſperity of that Army, the Strength of which conſiſted in *Spaniſh* and *German* Infantry. Wherefore he not only adviſed the Pope to provide himſelf with *Swiſs* Foot, but offered to ſend him a freſh Supply of Three Hundred Lances under *Thomas de Foix*, Lord of *l'Eſcud*, and Brother of *Odet*, intimating to him that beſides the Valour and Reputation of the Perſon he would be inſtrumental for cauſing *Franceſco Maria* to be deſerted by the *Gaſcons*, with whom thoſe Brothers *de Foix*, who were by Birth of the nobleſt Blood in *Gaſcony*, had a great Authority. The Pope had accepted that Offer, but with great Suſpenſe of Mind, for he ſtood in Doubt, as he did before, of the King's Intentions, of which his Suſpicions had *A. D.* 1517.

A. D. 1517. been increaſed by the Flight of the *Gaſcon* Foot, which he was afraid had proceeded from ſome ſecret Contrivance of *Lautrech*. Certain it is that whoever obſerved the Steps of Princes in thoſe Times might have plainly diſcovered that no Endearments, no Benefits, nor Tyes whatſoever were ſufficient to remove that Diſtruſt which they had conceived one of another; for there was not only a reciprocal Jealouſy between the King of *France* and the Pontiff, but the King of *Spain*, underſtanding that there was a Diſcourſe of the March of the *Swiſs* and of *Thomas de Foix*, was not without Apprehenſions that the Pope and the King in Conjunction had formed a Deſign to deprive him of the Kingdom of *Naples*. This Diſpoſition, it is thought, was advantageous to the Pope's Affairs, for each of the Princes, to avoid giving him any Cauſe or Pretence to juſtify himſelf for renouncing their Friendſhip, was ſollicitous to confirm and ſecure him in their Intereſts by Favours and Aſſiſtance.

But *Franceſco Maria*, after his Departure from *Corinaldo*, returned into the State

State of *Urbino*, to protect his People in gathering in their Harveſt, whence, being mightily deſirous, as he had always been, of making himſelf Maſter of *Peſaro*, in which was the Count of *Potenza* with his Troops, he led his Army before the Walls of that City, and put ſome ſmall Ships to Sea to cut them ſhort of Proviſions; but on the other Side the People at *Rimini* fitted out Sixteen Veſſels, conſiſting of Barks, Brigantines, and other ſmall Craft, and as ſoon as they were ready ſent them as a Convoy to ſome Barks bound for *Peſaro* with Proviſions, where encountering with the Fleet of *Franceſco Maria*, they ſunk the Admiral, and took all the reſt, on which the Duke deſpairing of the Conqueſt of *Peſaro* marched off. In the mean time *L'Eſcud* put himſelf on his March with the Three Hundred Lances, but the *Swiſs* were delayed, becauſe the Cantons refuſed to grant any Troops to the Pope before they were paid their old Arrears; in which Diſpoſition they continuing inflexible, and the Pontiff on account of his vaſt Expences unable to ſatisfy them, his Agents, after waſting many Days in vain

A. D. 1517.

A. D. 1517. Sollicitations, inliſted without a public Decree Two Thouſand private Men of that Nation, and Four Thouſand *Germans* and *Griſons*. Theſe Troops being at laſt arrived at *Rimini*, and quartered in the Suburbs, which are divided by the River from the reſt of the City, and ſurrounded by a Wall, *Franceſco Maria* entered by Night under the Arches of that beautiful Marble Bridge which joins the Suburbs to the City, but could not paſs the River becauſe it was ſwollen by the Inundation of the Sea. There was a ſharp Conflict between his Troops and the Foot quartered in the Suburbs, in which *Gaſpari*, Captain of the Pope's Guards, who had conducted them thither, was killed; but the Loſs on the Duke's Side was greater, *Balaſtichino* and *Vinea*, *Spaniſh* Captains, were killed, *Federigo da Bozzolo* was wounded, and *Franceſco Maria* received a Muſket Shot in his Cuiraſs. After this the Army directed its March towards *Tuſcany*, guided rather by Neceſſity than Hope, for in a State ſo much exhauſted ſo great a Body of Forces could not expect to find Suſtenance. In *Tuſcany* the Duke

Action at *Rimini*.

reſted

reſted ſome Days between the Pieve of *Santo Stefano*, *Borgo a San Sepolcro* and *Anghiara*, Towns of the *Florentines*, and taking Poſſeſſion of *Montedoglio*, a weak Place, and of ſmall Importance, he gave a very long Aſſault to *Anghiara*, a Town better defended by the Valour and Loyalty of the Inhabitants than by the Strength of its Walls or any other Fortification. Being repulſed at *Anghiara* he retired under the *Appennine*, and encamped between *Borgo* and *Citta di Caſtello*, where he received four Pieces of Artillery from *Mercatello*, and poſted himſelf half a Mile from *Borgo* on the Road to *Urbino*, uncertain how to proceed; for the Enemy having marched behind him into *Tuſcany*, a good Body of *Italian* Soldiers had taken Poſſeſſion of *Borgo*; in *Citta di Caſtello* was *Vitello* with another Body of Troops, and *Anghiara*, the Pieve of *Santo Stefano*, and the other neighbouring Towns were taken up by the *German*, *Corſican*, *Griſon* and *Swiſs* Infantry. There came alſo, though later, *Lorenzo de' Medici* from *Florence* to *Borgo*, where *Franceſco Maria* remained many Days without Action, in which Situation

A. D. 1517.

A. D. 1517. he began at length to be in great Diſtreſs for Proviſions, nor did he ſee any preſent Hopes of doing any thing to good Effect, ſince his Army, which was obliged to ſubſiſt on Prey and Rapine, was become as much dreaded by Friends as Enemies, and he himſelf had but a melancholy Proſpect of his Affairs; and the Troops that followed him receiving no Pay, and having no Hopes of ſubſiſting by Plunder much longer, becauſe they were not provided with Artillery and Ammunition proper for forcing of Towns, and while they were labouring alſo under a Want of Proviſions ſeeing their Enemies by the Favour and Countenance of Princes increaſed in Strength and Reputation, began to be tired with the Length of the War, having no Room to hope for a happy Iſſue, either by a ſpeedy Battle, or by protracting the War to a greater Length of Time.

THE Pope on the other Side was in as bad a Condition, exhauſted of Money, little able of himſelf to provide Neceſſaries in his Camp, and as diſtruſtful as ever of the Faith of Kings, eſpecially of the King of

of *France*, becauſe he was very backward in furniſhing the Subſidy of Money due to him by the Convention, and *L'Eſcud*, who had by the Pope's Direction ſtopped in *Romagna*, refuſed to ſend Part of his Troops into *Tuſcany*, declaring that he would not divide his Forces. Wherefore, not only before the Armies had paſſed the *Appennine*, but much more after Affairs had been reduced to the preſent Situation, there had been ſeveral Conferences about an Accommodation held between the Legate and *Franceſco Maria* in Conjunction with his Generals, *L'Eſcud*, and Don *Hugo de Moncada*, Viceroy of *Sicily*, who had Orders from the Catholic King for that Purpoſe, aſſiſting at them; but nothing had hitherto ſucceeded on account of the hard Conditions propoſed by *Franceſco Maria*. At laſt the *Spaniſh* Foot, induced by the Difficulties which preſented themſelves, and at the Inſtances of Don *Hugo*, who came over to the Camp, and adding Menaces to Authority repreſented to them that it was the peremptory Will of the King of *Spain*, they inclined to an Agreement, to which *Franceſco Maria*, though unwil- A. D. 1517.

A. D. 1517. lingly, conſenting, and the Biſhop of *Avellino*, commiſſioned by the Legate, acting as Proxy for the Pope, and the *Gaſcon* Foot, by the Mediation of *L'Eſcud*, acceding as Parties, it was concluded on the following Terms: That the Pope ſhould pay the *Spaniſh* Infantry Forty-five Thouſand Ducats, due, as they ſaid, for four Months Arrears; and to the *Gaſcons*, and the *Germans* united with them, Sixty Thouſand Ducats: That they ſhould evacuate the State of the Church, of the *Florentines*, and of *Urbino* within eight Days: That *Franceſco Maria* ſhould within the ſaid Term abandon all that he poſſeſſed, and be permitted to paſs in Safety to *Mantoua*: That he ſhould be at Liberty to take with him the Artillery, with all his Effects, and particularly the famous Library, which had been founded with ſo much Care and Coſt by *Federigo* his maternal Grandfather, the moſt celebrated General of his Time, but among all his other excellent Qualities diſtinguiſhed for his Patronage of Learning: That the Pontiff ſhould abſolve him from Cenſures, and grant his Pardon to all the Subjects of the

Agreement between the Pope and *Franceſco Maria*.

the State of *Urbino*, and to every Perſon who had oppoſed him in that War. While the Subſtance of theſe Articles was drawing up in a more ample Form in Writing, *Franceſco Maria* inſiſted on inſerting certain Words, importing that it was the *Spaniards* who obliged themſelves to deliver up the State of *Urbino* to the Pope. This being refuſed by the *Spaniards* as contrary to their Honour, they fell at Variance, whence *Franceſco Maria* ſuſpecting that they would ſell him to the Pope, withdrew on a ſudden, with Part of the light Horſe, and with the *Italian*, *Gaſcon* and *German* Foot to the Pieves of *Seſtina*. The *Spaniards* as ſoon as the Agreement was fulfilled, and they had received the Money that was promiſed them, ſet out on their March for the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the Number of about Six Hundred Horſe and Four Thouſand Foot. The other Foot alſo went off, after they had received the Reward of their Perfidy, and only the *Italian* Foot, to whom nothing was given or promiſed, remained behind. Wherefore *Franceſco Maria*, of whoſe Safety *L'Eſcud* ſeemed to take a particular Care,

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A. D. 1517. Care, ſeeing himſelf abandoned by all embraced the Agreement as it had been firſt ſettled, and ſet out on his March thro' *Romagna* and the *Bologneſe* to *Mantoua*, accompanied by *Federigo da Bozzolo* with an Hundred Horſe and Six Hundred Foot.

Reflexions on the War. THUS ended the War of the State of *Urbino*, after it had laſted eight Months with vaſt Expence and Diſgrace to the Conquerors; for it coſt the Pontiff Eight Hundred Thouſand Ducats, the greater Part of which, through the Power which he had in their City, was expended by the Republic of *Florence*. And the Generals who had the chief Management of the Affair were univerſally charged with very great Cowardice, and very diſorderly Conduct; and by ſome with malignant Intentions: For in the Beginning of the War, when the Forces of *Lorenzo* were very powerful, and thoſe of the Enemy but weak, they never knew how to improve any Opportunity, either by open Valour, or provident Care and Induſtry. From ſuch Beginnings, through the Loſs of their Reputation, followed Confuſion, and Diſobedience

obedience of the Army, which, in the Progreſs of the War, were attended with the Want of many Things neceſſary in a Camp, till at laſt when Fortune had a Mind to ſport herſelf with their Blunders, ſhe raiſed ſuch a Multiplicity of Diſorders, as tranſlated the Seat of the War into ſuch a Place that the Pontiff, who had diſcovered a Conſpiracy againſt his Life, finding himſelf attacked in the Dominions of the Church, and ſometimes under no ſmall Apprehenſions for the State of *Florence*, was neceſſitated to ſollicit by Intreaties, and by new Obligations, the Aſſiſtance of every Power, and yet had no other Way to free himſelf from his manifold Diſtreſſes but by paying with his own Money thoſe Troops of the Enemy's Army, which had either been the Original of the War, or which had been firſt liſted in his Service, and, after a Multitude of Extortions, had baſely revolted againſt him. A. D. 1517.

Towards the End of this Year the King of *Spain* ſailed, with a proſperous Voyage, to take Poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms, King of *Spain* enters on his Kingdoms.

A. D. 1517. doms, having obtained of the King of *France*, between whom and himſelf, each cloaking his inward Diſpoſition, were mighty Profeſſions of Friendſhip, a Prorogation for Six Months of the Payment of the firſt Hundred Thouſand Ducats, which he was bound to give him by the laſt Convention made between them. The *Venetians* alſo anew confirmed for two Years their defenſive League with the King of *France*, and while they were in cloſe Alliance with that Prince they had but little Regard for the Friendſhip of all the reſt, and carried their Neglect ſo far that they had not as yet ſent to pay Obedience to the Pontiff, who was much blamed for ſending *Altobello*, Biſhop of *Pola*, Ambaſſador to *Venice*, as a Step unworthy of his Majeſty.

1518. In the following Year, 1518, *Italy* had the Happineſs, unknown for many Years paſt, not to be ſenſible of the leaſt Movement of War, and, what is more, the ſame pacific Diſpoſition appeared in all the Chriſtian Princes, between whom, at the Motion of the Pontiff, Conſultations were held,

held, though more with ſpecious Reaſonings than ſolid Counſels, about a general Expedition of all Chriſtendom againſt *Selymus* the Sultan of the *Turks*, who had the Year before increaſed his Grandeur to ſuch a Degree, that, conſidering his Power, and no leſs his Ambition of Empire, together with his Valour and Fierceneſs, there was juſt Reaſon to fear that if the Chriſtians did not prevent him by being the Aggreſſors, it would not be long before he turned his victorious Arms againſt them. For *Selymus*, having learnt that *Bajazet* his Father, who was now grown very old, deſigned to ſettle the Succeſſion of the Empire on *Achomates* his eldeſt Son, rebelled againſt him, and conſtrained him by Force of Arms, and by bribing the Janizaries, to reſign the Throne to his Poſſeſſion; and it was univerſally believed that, in order to be abſolutely ſecure of him, he impiouſly procured his Death by Poiſon. After this he overthrew his Brother in a Battle, and openly put him to Death, and exerciſed the like Cruelty on *Corcutus* the youngeſt Brother of all, and not content with murdering, according to

A. D. 1518.

Actions of Sultan *Selymus*.

the

A. D. 1518. the Cuſtom of the *Ottomans*, his Nephews, and every one that remained of that Stock, was of ſuch a cruel and unrelenting Temper that it is believed he had it ſometimes in his Thoughts to deſtroy his only Son *Solyman*.

HAVING laid theſe Foundations he went on War after War, and having overcome and ſubdued the *Aladolites*, a fierce mountainous People, he proceeded with his Army into *Perſia* againſt the Sophy, and coming to a Battle with him defeated him, and took the City of *Tauris* the Seat of that Empire, with the greater Part of *Perſia*, which he was forced to abandon, not by the Valour of the Enemies, who doubting their Ability to reſiſt his Army were retired into wild and mountainous Places, but for Want of Proviſions becauſe it had been a very barren Year. After his Return from that Expedition to *Conſtantinople* he puniſhed many of his Soldiers for raiſing a Sedition, and ſpent ſome Months in recruiting his Army; then, pretending that his Deſign was to return and make a Conqueſt of *Perſia*, he turned his Arms againſt

againſt the Soldan of *Syria* and *Egypt*, a Prince not only of very antient Dignity, and highly reverenced by thoſe of that Religion, but alſo very powerful by the Extent of his Dominions, his great Revenues, and the military Eſtabliſhment of the *Mamalucs*, who by their Arms had kept Poſſeſſion of that Empire with very great Reputation for theſe Three Hundred Years. A. D. 1518.

Account of the *Mamalucs*.

For the Adminiſtration was in the Hands of Soldans, who aſcended to the higheſt Station not by Succeſſion but by Election, and to which none were exalted but Perſons of known Valour, and who had paſſed through all the military Degrees to the Government of Provinces and Armies; and the Strength of their Military conſiſted not in mercenary and foreign Soldiers, but in choſen Men, who were taken when Children from the neighbouring Provinces, and having been bred up for many Years with a ſparing Diet, inured to hard Labour, and continual Employment in Arms, in Riding, and in all the Exerciſes belonging to military Diſcipline, were afterwards enrolled in the Order of *Mamalucs*, which Honour deſcended not from Hand to Hand

to

A. D. 1518. to the Sons of deceaſed *Mamalucs*, but to others, who in their Childhood were taken for Slaves, and had been inſtructed in the ſame Arts, and trained up in the ſame Diſcipline which had made Way by Degrees for their Predeceſſors. This Militia, in Number not above Sixteen or Eighteen Thouſand, kept under very ſevere Subjection all the People of *Syria* and *Egypt*, who were not allowed to keep Arms, nor to ride Horſes, and being Men of great Valour and Fierceneſs, and who made War on their own Account, becauſe the Soldans were choſen out of their Number, and by themſelves, and they were in Poſſeſſion of the Honours, Profits, and Adminiſtration of that vaſtly plentiful and opulent Empire, had not only ſubdued many of the neighbouring Nations, and beaten the *Arabs*, but had ſeveral Wars with the *Turks*, in which they had been often victorious, but ſeldom or never overcome by them.

AGAINST this formidable Body it was that *Selymus* then moved with his Army, and after he had given them ſeveral Defeats

feats in the open Field, in which the Soldan was killed, and then taken in Battle the other Soldan his Succeſſor, whom he put to Death publicly with an ignominious Puniſhment, and made a vaſt Slaughter, and even in a manner extinguiſhed the very Name of the *Mamalucs*, and taken Poſſeſſion of *Cairo*, a very populous City, and the Reſidence of the Soldans, he made himſelf Maſter of all *Syria* and *Egypt* in a very ſhort Space of Time; ſo that from this great and ſudden Increaſe of Empire, and almoſt doubling his Revenues, beſides a Removal of thoſe Obſtacles ariſing from the Emulation of ſuch potent and reputable Neighbours, he was not without Reaſon become formidable to the Chriſtians. And they had the juſter Grounds for their Apprehenſions, becauſe with ſo great an Eminence of Power and Valour was joined an ardent Deſire of Empire, and of tranſmitting a moſt glorious Name to Poſterity by his Victories. In this Diſpoſition he would frequently read, as it was reported, the Actions of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Julius Cæſar*, and wonderfully fret and torment himſelf that his Exploits were no

A. D. 1518.

Selymus conquers *Egypt* and *Syria*.

A. D. 1518. way comparable to the many Victories and Triumphs of thoſe Heroes. And by his continual reviewing and putting in Order his Armies and Militia, building a vaſt Number of new Veſſels, and making new Proviſions of Things neceſſary for a War, it was apprehended that he had a Deſign to attack, as ſoon as he was prepared, ſome ſaid, the Iſland of *Rhodes*, the Bulwark of Chriſtendom on the Eaſtern Parts, or, as others imagined, the Kingdom of *Hungary*, which was formerly dreaded by the *Turks* for the Fierceneſs of its Inhabitants, but was at preſent but in a weak Condition, being in the Hands of a King who was in his Minority, and governed by the Prelates and Barons of the Kingdom, who were divided among themſelves. Others affirmed that his Deſigns were all bent upon *Italy*, which he was emboldened to attack from the Diſcord of the Princes, and his knowing how much it had been ſhattered by the long Wars, to which he was incited alſo by the Memory of his Grandfather *Mahomet*, who with much leſs Power, and with a ſmall Fleet ſent to the Kingdom of *Naples*, had by a ſudden Attack made himſelf

himſelf Maſter of the City of *Otranto*, and opened himſelf, if he had not been ſurpriſed by Death, a Door, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in a Seat, from whence he might at all Times annoy the *Italians*. A. D. 1518.

THE Pope, therefore, with the whole Court of *Rome*, terrified at ſuch great Succeſs, and in order to provide againſt ſo threatening a Danger, willing to ſhew his Readineſs to have Recourſe in the firſt Place to the divine Aſſiſtance, decreed throughout the City of *Rome* moſt devout Proceſſions, on which *Leo* himſelf went barefooted. After this turning his Thoughts and Cares on human Helps and Means, he wrote Briefs to all the Chriſtian Princes, admoniſhing them of ſo great a Danger, and exhorting them to lay aſide their Diviſions and Contentions, and to ſhew their Readineſs to attend to the Defence of Religion and of the common Safety, which were continually expoſed to very great Hazards if they did not all reſolve, with united Hearts and Forces, to transfer the War into the *Turkiſh* Empire, and attack the Enemies in their own Dwellings. On

A. D. 1518. this Affair, after examining many Opinions of military Men, and of Perſons acquainted with the Countries, the Diſpoſition of the Provinces, and of the Forces and Arms of that Empire, it was reſolved that it was neceſſary to make very large Proviſions of Money, by a voluntary Contribution of the Princes, and by a general Tax to be laid on all the People of Chriſtendom: That *Cæſar*, attended by the Cavalry of the *Hungarians* and *Poles*, warlike Nations, and exerciſed in continual Wars againſt the *Turks*, and with an Army ſuitable to ſo great an Undertaking, conſiſting of *German* Horſe and Foot, ſhould fall down the *Danube* into *Boſnia*, antiently called *Myſia*, and from thence penetrate into *Thracia*, and advance to *Conſtantinople*, the Seat of the *Ottoman* Empire: That the King of *France* with all the Forces of his Kingdom, of the *Venetians*, and of the other Powers of *Italy*, accompanied by the *Swiſs* Infantry, ſhould tranſport himſelf from the Port of *Brindiſi* to *Albania*, an eaſy and very ſhort Paſſage, in order to attack

Scheme for attacking the *Turkiſh* Empire.

attack *Greece*, a Country full of Chriſtian Inhabitants, and, becauſe of the Severity of the *Turkiſh* Government, very diſpoſed to revolt: That the Kings of *Spain*, *Portugal* and *England* ſhould join their Fleets at *Cartagena* and the neighbouring Ports, and with Two Hundred Sail, full of *Spaniſh* Foot and other Soldiers, direct their Courſe to the Streights of *Gallipoli*, and after they had made themſelves Maſters of the *Dardanells*, or Caſtles ſituated at the Mouth of the Streights of *Conſtantinople*, proceed and attack that Capital; and the Pope, with an Hundred Ships of War, ſhould ſail from *Ancona* on the ſame Voyage. With ſuch Preparations covering both Land and Sea, and attacking in ſo many Quarters the State of the *Turks*, who lay the principal Streſs of their Defence in the Field, there was Reaſon to hope, eſpecially with the divine Aſſiſtance, that ſo pious a War would have a very happy Iſſue. *A. D.* 1518.

To ſet on Foot a Treaty for theſe Purpoſes, or at leaſt to avoid the Imputation

A. D. 1518. of being wanting to the Duty of a Pontiff, *Leo*, after firſt ſounding the Minds of the Princes, publiſhed in Conſiſtory an univerſal Truce for Five Years between all the Chriſtian Potentates, under the Penalty of moſt grievous Cenſures againſt any one who ſhould contravene it. And that all Matters relating to ſo great an Undertaking, on which he was continually conſulting with the Ambaſſadors of the Princes, might be accepted and ſeriouſly debated, he appointed Legates, as the Cardinal of *San Siſto* to *Cæſar*, the Cardinal of *Santa Maria in Portico* to the King of *France*, Cardinal *Egidio* to the King of *Spain*, and *Lorenzo* Cardinal *Campeggio* to the King of *England*, all Men of Authority or Experience in Affairs, and recommended either by the Fame of their Learning, or their Intimacy with the Pontiff. But though Negotiations for theſe Purpoſes were begun with great Expectations, and the univerſal Truce had been accepted by all, and every one with oſtentatious and magnific Speeches profeſſed themſelves ready in ſo juſt a Cauſe to engage with all their Forces againſt the *Turks*, if they had the

the Concurrence of the reſt, yet as the Danger was by all accounted uncertain, and at a great Diſtance, and concerned the States of one more than thoſe of the other, and as it was very difficult, and required a long Time to introduce ſo univerſal an Ardor and Union, private Intereſts and Conveniencies got the upper Hand ſo far that not only theſe Deſigns were never in a Forwardneſs to be put in Execution, but hardly ever came under Debate but in a ſlighting Manner, and as it were out of Ceremony, it being the Nature of Mankind that thoſe Objects which at firſt Sight appear very dreadful to us become every Day leſs formidable, and make weaker Impreſſions, ſo that if the Terror be not renewed by freſh Incidents, they have a Tendency, in a long Proceſs of Time, to lull us into a State of Security. And this Negligence of public and immoderate Concern for private Affairs was not long after confirmed by the Death of *Selymus*, who after a tedious and waſting Diſorder, which ſuſpended the Preparations of War, departed this Life, leaving that great Empire to his Son *Soly-*

A. D. 1518.

Scheme abortive.

Death of *Selymus*.

A. D. 1518. man, young in Years, and reputed of a milder Diſpoſition, and not inclined to War, but his future Conduct demonſtrated the contrary.

At this Time there ſeemed to be an extraordinary Friendſhip and Harmony between the Pontiff and the King of *France*, for the King made a Match between *Lorenzo* the Pontiff's Nephew and *Magdalen* a young Lady of the noble Houſe of *Boulogne* *, with a yearly Revenue of Ten Thouſand Crowns, Part of which was of the royal Bounty, and the reſt her patrimonial Eſtate; and the King having a Son born, the Pontiff deſired to ſtand Godfather. *Lorenzo* on this Occaſion diſpoſed himſelf to go and be joined in Matrimony to the new Spouſe, and haſtening his Departure went Poſt to the Court of *France*, where he was highly careſſed and honoured by the King, with whom, by profeſſing himſelf wholly devoted to his Service, and promiſing to follow his Fortune

Lorenzo marries honourably.

* *Lorenzo* had by this Lady a Daughter called *Katherine*, who was afterwards by Pope *Clement* VII. married to *Henry* Succeſſor to his Father *Francis* in the Throne of *France*, and was Mother of *Charles* IX.

Fortune in all Events, he greatly ingratiated himſelf. He brought with him to the King a Brief of the Pontiff, which granted him Leave to make what Uſe he pleaſed of the Money ariſing from the Tenths and the Cruſades, till there was Occaſion to ſpend it in a War againſt the *Turks*, on his promiſing to reſtore it at any Time when it ſhould be neceſſary to employ it on the Purpoſes for which it had been repoſited; wherefore Fifty Thouſand Crowns of it were converted to *Lorenzo*'s Uſe. The King alſo, who had hitherto diſſembled his Diſſatisfaction with the Pope for not performing the Promiſe which he had made him by Brief, of the Reſtitution of *Modena* and *Reggio* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, though the Term of Seven Months was expired, knowing that he could not give the Pontiff ſo much Diſtaſte as by inſiſting on that Reſtitution, and paying, as it often happens, more Regard to thoſe in higher Rank than to Inferiors, put the Brief of the Promiſe into the Hands of *Lorenzo*. *A. D.* 1518

THE

A. D. 1518.

Venetians prolong the Truce with *Cæſar.*

THE *Venetians* alſo much about the ſame Time, by the Mediation of the King of *France*, prolonged the Truce with *Cæſar* for Five Years, on Condition of paying him each of theſe Years Twenty Thouſand Crowns, and that the Exiles who had followed *Cæſar* ſhould receive a fourth Part of the yearly Revenue of the Eſtates which they had before enjoyed, by which Means their Share, according to the Rates, would be Five Thouſand Crowns; and *Cæſar*, if they had given him a larger Sum, might perhaps have been induced to make a Peace. But a Truce was more acceptable to the King of *France*, becauſe the *Venetians* not being as yet wholly ſecure would have the greater Reaſon to ſet a Value on his Friendſhip, and becauſe *Cæſar* would have no Power with the Money which he would receive of them to ſtir up Innovations.

Peace and League between the Kings of *France* and *England.*

AND as there was a general Tendency on all Hands to a Peace the Differences alſo between the Kings of *France* and *England* were compoſed, and for the better Eſtabliſhment

Eſtabliſhment of the Agreement it was confirmed by a new Contract of Affinity. For the King of *England* engaged to give his only Daughter, to whom, in Default of other Children, the Succeſſion to the Crown, ought, as it was expected, to fall, to the Dauphin, eldeſt Son to the King of *France*, with a Dowry of Four Hundred Thouſand Ducats, both the Parties being of ſo tender an Age that infinite Accidents might happen before they were of Years ſufficient for Conſummation of Matrimony. A Defenſive League was made between them, in which were nominated by the principal contracting Parties *Cæſar* and the King of *Spain*, in caſe they ratified within a certain Time. The King of *England* was obliged to reſtore *Tournay*, the Keeping of which was very expenſive, and was to receive of *Francis* for the Money he had laid out Sixty Thouſand Ducats in Hand, and to acknowledge the Receipt of Three Hundred Thouſand more in Dowry with his Daughter-in-law, beſides paying Three Hundred Thouſand Ducats more within Twelve Years, engaging alſo to reſtore

A. D. 1518.

Tournay

A. D. 1518. *Tournay* if the Peace and Affinity did not take Effect. On account of this League and Affinity Ambaſſadors were diſpatched on both Sides to receive the Ratifications and Oaths, which Acts were performed with the greateſt Solemnity and Ceremony in both Courts, and it was agreed that the two Kings ſhould have an Interview between *Calais* and *Boulogne*; and not long after *Tournay* was reſtored.

Peace confirmed between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*.

AT the ſame Time the King of *France*'s Daughter who was deſigned for the Nuptials of the King of *Spain* being deceaſed, the Peace was anew confirmed between them with the firſt Stipulation in which was promiſed the Marriage of the ſecond Daughter of *France*. Both Kings celebrated this Convention with all the exterior Marks of Benevolence, and the King of *Spain*, who had before paid the Hundred Thouſand Ducats in *Lions*, publicly wore the Order of *St. Michael* on the Day of that Saint's Feſtival, and the King of *France* on the Day dedicated to *St. Andrew* wore in public the Order of the Fleece.

A. D. 1518.

In this peaceful Situation of Affairs in *Italy* and beyond the Mountains *Gian-jacopo da Trivulzi* alone was ſuffered to enjoy no Reſt, no Reſpect being paid to his Age, now almoſt decrepit, nor to his military Conduct and Bravery, ſo often exerted in the Service of the Houſe of *France*. For having to deal with the ſubtle Artifices of his Rivals, and the Malice of *Lautrech*, who oppoſed him in many Points, of which Contentions his own ambitious and reſtleſs Temper might perhaps in ſome meaſure be the Cauſe, he was fallen into Diſgrace with the King, who ſuſpected that he and his Houſe, thro' the Intereſt of the *Guelf* Faction, and the Memory of antient Endearments, were become too much in Favour with the *Venetians*, who had conſtituted *Teodoro da Trivulzi* Commander of their Forces, and had lately liſted into their Service *Renato* of the ſame Family. Wherefore *Galeazzo Viſconti*, by the Death of *Franceſco Bernardino Viſconti*, becoming Head of the *Ghibelline* Faction, the King had inveſted him with the Order of *St. Michael*,

Troubles and Death of *Trivulzio*.

A. D. 1518. *Michael*, and allowed him a Penſion, in order to ſet him up in Oppoſition to *Trivulzi* with the greater Authority, and his Majeſty himſelf and *Lautrech* countenanced his Proceedings on all Occaſions. This Management could not paſs without humbling and depreſſing *Trivulzi*, who was too impatient to diſſemble, and by his frequent Complaints became every Day more hated and more ſuſpected. But *Lautrech* and the reſt who calumniated him with the King had the fairer Occaſion given them by his making himſelf a free Burgher of *Switzerland*, as if he had intended to uſe the Aſſiſtance of the *Swiſs* for ſupporting himſelf againſt the King, and perhaps aſpired to greater Matters. To juſtify himſelf from theſe Calumnies, ſo old as he was, he took a Journey into *France*; but not only *Lautrech* as ſoon as he was departed, by the King's Orders, arreſted and put under honourable Cuſtody his Wife, and his Grandſon by his only Son the Count of *Muſocco* lately deceaſed, but he himſelf was ſo far from meeting with a favourable and honourable Reception from the King as uſual,

that

that he was reproached by him with making himſelf a *Swiſs*, and told that nothing reſtrained his Juſtice from puniſhing him according to his Deſers, but the Fame that was univerſally ſpread, though exaggerated beyond the Truth, of his Merits towards the Crown of *France*. He was neceſſitated therefore to retract what he had done *, and a few Days after following the Court he fell ſick at *Chartres*, and departed the Stage of this World. He was a Perſon of univerſal Reputation, as had been confirmed by manifold Experience, for his great Knowledge in military Diſcipline, but was through the whole Courſe of his Life in Subjection to the Inconſtancy of Fortune, who ſometimes lifted him up to the Top of Proſperity, at other Times depreſſed him under a Load of Misfortunes, ſo that nothing could be more properly ſaid of him than what he cauſed to be inſcribed on his Monument, "*Within this Grave lies at Reſt* Gianjacopo da Trivulzi, *who before never knew Reſt.*"

A. D. 1518.

In this ſame Year *Cæſar*, being deſirous to ſettle the Succeſſion of the *Roman* Empire

* To renounce his *Swiſs* Burgherſhip.

A. D. 1518. pire after his Death upon one of his Grandſons, treated with the Electors about chuſing one of them King of the *Romans*, which Dignity whoever has obtained immediately on the Death of the Emperor ſucceeds to the Empire without another Election or Confirmation. And becauſe there is no arriving at that Dignity before he who has been choſen to the Empire has obtained the Imperial Crown, he ſollicited the Pontiff to make a new Precedent, and cauſe him to be crowned in *Germany* by the Hands of ſome Cardinals conſtituted Apoſtolical Legates for that Purpoſe. And though *Cæſar* had at firſt deſired that this Dignity ſhould be conferred on his Grandſon *Ferdinand*, becauſe he thought it convenient that, ſince the elder Brother was arrived at ſuch a Pitch of Greatneſs, and Maſter of ſo many States, the other ſhould ſupport himſelf with that Degree, and judged that in order to maintain his Houſe in the greater Splendor, and to provide againſt any ill Accidents that might befal the Perſon of the elder Brother, it were better to have two great Perſons in his Family than one alone, yet being ſtimulated

lated to the contrary by his Confidants and the Cardinal of *Sion*, and by all thoſe who hated or dreaded the Power of *France*, he rejected his firſt Reſolution, and turned all his Endeavours to procure the Promotion of the King of *Spain* to that Dignity. Theſe Counſellors demonſtrated to him that it would be much more conducive to the Exaltation of the Houſe of *Auſtria* that the whole Power ſhould be accumulated on one Perſon, for by dividing it into Parts they would be render'd leſs able to accompliſh their Deſigns: That the Greatneſs of *Charles* was built on ſuch ample and ſolid Foundations that by adding to it the Imperial Dignity it was to be hoped that all *Italy* and a great Part of Chriſtendom might be reduced into one Monarchy; an Event, which would not only conduce to the Greatneſs of his Deſcendants, but alſo to the Quiet of their Subjects, and, with Regard to the Affairs of the Infidels, to the Benefit of the whole Chriſtian Commonwealth; and that it was his Buſineſs and Duty to ſtudy the Augmentation and Exaltation of the Imperial Dignity, which had been ſo many Years veſted in his Per-

A. D. 1518.

Cæſar ſollicitous to procure the Empire for his Grandſon *Charles*.

A. D 1518. ſon and in the Family of *Auſtria*, and which had hitherto, for Want of Power in him and his Predeceſſors, been greater in Name and Title than in Subſtance and Effect; and there were no Hopes that it would ever raiſe itſelf, or be reſtored to its antient Splendor but by transferring it on the Perſon of *Charles*, and uniting it with his Power: That an Opportunity for it offered itſelf to him from the Order and Courſe of Nature and Fortune, which it was his Duty not to hinder but rather to promote: That it appeared by the Records of the antient Emperors that *Cæſar Auguſtus* and many of his Succeſſors, on a Failure of Children or Deſcendants of the ſame Race, being apprehenſive that the Dignity which reſided in their Perſons would be ſubverted or diminiſhed, had ſearched out Men remote from their Kindred, or even no way belonging to them, and made them their Succeſſors by means of Adoption: That there was the modern Example of the Catholic King, who loved *Ferdinand* as his own Son, having bred him under his continual Care at his own Court, and had not ſo much as

ever

ever ſeen *Charles*; nay, in his laſt Years, found from him but little Obedience to his Precepts; yet he had no Compaſſion on the Poverty of him whom he loved as his Son, nor bequeathed him any Share of thoſe many States which he poſſeſſed, not even of thoſe which he had himſelf acquired, and were conſequently in his own Diſpoſal, but left all to one whom he hardly knew but as a Stranger. They put *Cæſar* in Mind alſo that the ſame King had always adviſed him to acquire new States for *Ferdinand*, but to leave the Imperial Dignity to *Charles*; and now it appeared that the more to aggrandize his Succeſſor, he had, with a Reſolution poſſibly condemned by many, and perhaps unjuſt, but moved by no other Reaſon than this, deprived his own Family of ſo noble and illuſtrious a Kingdom as *Aragon*, and conſented, contrary to the Deſire of moſt People, that the Name of his Houſe ſhould be extinguiſhed and annihilated. *A. D.* 1518.

THESE Sollicitations of *Cæſar* were with all poſſible Art and Induſtry oppoſed by the King of *France*, who was extremely Oppoſed by the King of *France*.

A. D. 1518. tremely concerned that to ſo many Kingdoms and States of the King of *Spain* ſhould be added the Imperial Dignity, which would by that Means reſume its antient Vigour and become ſo powerful as to be formidable to all the World. Wherefore he endeavoured to defeat the Deſign by treating privately with the Electors, and made Inſtances to the Pontiff to refuſe making a new Precedent by ſending the Crown to *Cæſar*; and he had ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Venetians* to ſollicit their Concurrence in the Oppoſition, admoniſhing both them and the Pontiff of the Danger which would ariſe from ſo exorbitant a Greatneſs. But a great Part of the Electors were gained over to *Cæſar*, and they were already in a manner ſecure of the Money which was promiſed them for this Election by the King of *Spain*, who had for that Purpoſe ſent Two Hundred Thouſand Ducats into *Germany*; and they could not with Decency, nor perhaps without Danger of giving Offence, having Regard to paſt Examples, deny him his Requeſt; nor was it believed that the Pontiff, though it might be very diſagreeable

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to him, would refuſe to grant that *Cæſar* ſhould receive in his Name the Crown of the Empire from the Hands of Apoſtolical Legates in *Germany*, conſidering that a Journey to *Rome* in order to be crowned there, though it were with greater Demonſtrations of the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, was in all other Reſpects rather a Ceremony than a Thing of Subſtance. *A. D.* 1518.

WITH theſe Projects, and with theſe Tranſactions paſſed off the Year 1518, the Electors not being yet come to a Reſolution, which became more doubtful and difficult by the Death of *Cæſar*, which happened in the Beginning of the Year 1519. He died at *Lintz* a Town ſituated on the Borders of *Auſtria*, intent, as always, on the Chace of wild Beaſts, and with the ſame Fortune in which he had almoſt always lived, and which having been very kind to him in offering him vaſt Opportunities, I know not whether ſhe did not ſhew herſelf equally averſe in not ſuffering him to make Uſe of them, or whether he did not rather deprive himſelf 1519.

Death and Character of *Maximilian Cæſar*.

A. D. 1519 of what Fortune brought home to his own Door meerly by his own Inconſtancy, and extravagant Conceptions, which were under no Regulation, and frequently different from the Opinions of other Men, and which in Conjunction with an immenſe Prodigality, and Diſſipation of Money interrupted all his Succeſſes, and loſt him all his Opportunities. He was otherwiſe a Prince very knowing in the Art of War, ſecret, very laborious, merciful, bountiful, and thoroughly endowed with many excellent and ornamental Gifts and Qualifications.

Kings of *France* and *Spain* Competitors for the Empire.

MAXIMILIAN being deceaſed the Kings of *France* and *Spain* began openly to aſpire to the Empire, and though the Contention was between Princes of ſuch Greatneſs, and concerning ſo important an Affair, it was however managed with Modeſty, without proceeding either to contumelious Words, or Menaces of Arms, but each made the beſt Uſe of his Authority, and what other Means he had, to gain over to his Side the Electors. The King of *France* even condeſcended to diſcourſe in a very becoming

becoming Manner with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors on that Election, in which he ſaid it was commendable that each of them ſhould be decently ſollicitous to adorn himſelf with the Splendor of ſo great a Dignity, which at different Times had been in the Houſes of their Anceſtors; but that neither of them ought on ſuch an Account to reſume it in Prejudice to the Rights of the other, nor ſuffer their mutual Harmony and Benevolence for that Reaſon to be diminiſhed, but rather to follow the Example, which may be ſometimes obſerved, of two young Lovers, who, tho' they love the ſame Woman, and each exerts himſelf with all his Art and Induſtry to obtain her, yet never fall out between themſelves and quarrel upon her Account. A D. 1519.

THE King of *Spain* thought he had a juſt Claim to the Empire becauſe it had continued many Years in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and it had not been cuſtomary for the Electors to divert it from the Deſcendents of the Deceaſed without evident Proof of their Incapacity: There was no Reaſons favouring the King of *Spain*.

A. D. 1519. Prince in *Germany* of ſo great Power and Authority as to come in Competition with him in that Election, and it ſeemed to him neither juſt nor probable that the Electors ſhould think of transferring ſo great a Dignity, which had continued ſo many Ages in the *German* Nation, on a foreign Prince. And even ſuppoſing there ſhould be ſome among them, who either corrupted by Money, or for ſome other Reaſon, might have different Intentions, yet he hoped to annoy them by ſeaſonable Preparations of Arms, and that the other Electors would oppoſe them, and at leaſt that the other Princes and free Towns of *Germany* would not put up with ſo infamous and diſhonourable an Act which concerned them all, and eſpecially when the Queſtion was about transferring the Imperial Dignity on the Perſon of the King of *France*, and by that Means increaſing the Power of a King who was an Enemy to their Nation, and from whence, they might reſt themſelves aſſured, that Dignity would never return to *Germany*. He thought it alſo no difficult Matter to perfect what had been before negotiated by

by his Grandfather, an Agreement being already ſettled with each of the Electors concerning the Rewards and Donatives. *A. D.* 1519.

Reaſons for the King of *France*.

ON the other Side the Deſires and Hopes of the King of *France* were by no means inferior to thoſe of his Rival, being founded principally on a Belief of procuring the Votes of the Electors by a very large Sum of Money. With ſome of theſe Princes he had Attachments by Ties of antient Friendſhip and Endearments, and was incited by them to this Undertaking, and perſuaded of the Facility of its Accompliſhment. Theſe Hopes, as Men are prone to believe what they deſire, he nouriſhed with Reaſons rather apparent than real: For he knew that, generally ſpeaking, the Princes of *Germany* thought it a Grievance that the Emperors ſhould be very powerful, from a Jealouſy that they would be tempted, either in all or in Part, to reclaim the Juriſdictions which many had uſurped; and therefore he perſuaded himſelf that they would by no means conſent to the Election of the King of *Spain*, and ſo voluntarily ſubject themſelves

A. D. 1519. ſelves to an Emperor more powerful than any one that had reigned ſince the Times of the antient Emperors; whereas the Caſe was quite otherwiſe with reſpect to himſelf, for as he had no States nor antient Dependencies in *Germany*, they had no ſuch Occaſion to be jealous of his Greatneſs. The ſame Reaſon he imagined as ſufficient with the Free Towns, not only to counterballance but to explode the Concern for the Glory of the Nation, ſince Men in general are, without Compariſon, more eaſily moved by the Spurs of private Intereſt than by a Regard to the public Good. He knew that many illuſtrious Houſes in *Germany*, who pretended to be capable of the Imperial Dignity, were highly diſſatisfied at the Continuation of the Empire ſo many Years in the ſame Family, and that ſo eminent a Degree of Honour, which ought ſometimes to be beſtowed on one Houſe, ſometimes on another by Election, had begun in a manner by Succeſſion to perpetuate itſelf in one and the ſame Race, ſince an Election, which orders not to depart from the next in the Line of the deceaſed Emperors,

perors, might be called a Succeſſion. Thus had the Empire paſſed from *Albert* of *Auſtria* to *Frederic* his Brother, and from *Frederic* to his Son *Maximilian*, and now there was a Deſign to tranſmit it from *Maximilian* on the Perſon of *Charles* his Grandſon. This Diſcontent and Indignation of the *German* Princes gave the King of *France* ſome Hopes that the Diſcords and Emulations between themſelves might aſſiſt his Cauſe, it often happening in Contentions that he who ſees himſelf, or the Party whom he favoureth excluded, precipitates himſelf, poſtponing all other Regards, into the Choice of a Third rather than give Place to him who had oppoſed his Intentions. *Francis* had alſo ſome Hopes in the Favour of the Pontiff, as well on account of the cloſe Union and Friendſhip which he ſeemed to have contracted with him, as becauſe he imagined that the Pope could not be pleaſed that *Charles*, a Prince of ſuch Power, and who, by the Bordering of the Kingdom of *Naples* on the State of the Church, with the Adherence of the *Ghibelline* Party, had opened a Paſſage to the Gates of *Rome*,

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A. D. 1519. *Rome*, ſhould obtain alſo the Crown of the Empire, not conſidering that this Reaſon, which was very forcible againſt *Charles*, was of Weight alſo againſt himſelf. For the Pope and every other Power had as much Reaſon to dread the Inveſtiture of the Empire in him as in *Charles*, conſidering that if one of them poſſeſſed perhaps more Kingdoms and States, the other was no leſs to be valued becauſe his Power was not diſperſed, nor divided into different Places, but his Kingdom was all contiguous and united together, the People wonderfully obedient, and the Land abounding with Riches, but not knowing in himſelf what he eaſily conſidered in others, he had recourſe to the Pope, beſeeching him that he would be pleaſed to grant him his Favour, ſince he and his Kingdoms were as much at his Devotion as if he were his own Son.

THE Pope found himſelf very much embarraſſed with the Cauſe of this Election, the Aſſumption of either of the Kings to the Empire being highly diſagreeable to him on account of the Security of the Apoſtolic

Apoſtolic See, and of the reſt of *Italy*; and as he had no great Dependence on his Authority with the Electors, he judged it neceſſary in ſo momentous an Affair to proceed with Prudence and artful Means. He was perſuaded that the King of *France* was deceived by ſome of the Electors, and had no Share in that Election; and that the Power of Corruption, tho' in venal Men, had not prevailed to ſuch a Height as vilely to transfer the Empire of the *German* Nation to the King of *France*. He imagined that it would be very eaſy for the King of *Spain* to compaſs his Deſign, becauſe he was of the ſame Nation, and through the Negotiations that were begun by *Maximilian*, and on many other Accounts, if he did not make a very powerful Oppoſition againſt him; and this was no other Way to be effected, as he thought, than by diſpoſing the King of *France* to employ the ſame good Offices and Money in behalf of one of the Electors which he uſed for procuring his own Election. He thought it impoſſible to induce the King to make this Step while he was at the Height of his vain Hopes, but was inclined

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Politic Conduct of the Pope.

A. D. 1519. inclined to believe that the more ardently and with the greater Expectations he involved himſelf in this Negotiation, the more eaſily, when he ſhould come to perceive that his Projects would prove abortive, finding himſelf expoſed, provoked, and in the Height of the Contention, he would precipitate himſelf into Meaſures for electing a third Perſon, whoſe Intereſt he would eſpouſe with no leſs Ardor than he had ſhewn in proſecuting his own Cauſe; and he was in Hopes at this Time, that as ſoon as he had perſuaded the King to believe that he favoured his Deſign, and concurred with him in his Wiſhes, he ſhould find him tractable and attentive to his Authority and Counſel. It might poſſibly alſo happen, that by briſkly eſpouſing in the Beginning the Cauſe of the King of *France*, the other King, ſeeing ſuch Difficulties like to attend the Proſecution of his Deſigns, and ſuſpecting that the King his Adverſary had a Hand in them, might in like manner be eagerly ſollicitous for chuſing a Third. With this View he not only pretended to the King of *France* that he

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was highly desirous that the Empire should be transferred to him, but encouraged him by many Arguments to proceed resolutely in his Design, promising in a most ample Manner to favour him with all the Authority of the Pontificate. And imagining that he could employ no better Instrument to impress on the King a Belief of the Sincerity of his Intentions in this Transaction than a Person whom his Majesty thought more dependent on himself than on others, he immediately appointed *Roberto Orsino*, Archbishop of *Reggio*, a Person in whom the King could confide, his Nuncio in *Germany*, with Instructions that he should both separately, and in conjunction with the *French* Agents, use his utmost Endeavours with the Electors for promoting his Majesty's Intentions, directing him however to proceed with more or less Moderation according to the Disposition of the Electors, and the State of Affairs in *Germany*. This Scheme was prudently concerted by the Pontiff, and covered with the deepest Dissimulation, but in order to make it succeed there wanted more Prudence in the

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A. D. 1519 the King of *France*, and in his Miniſters who were in *Germany*, and more Gravity and Faithfulneſs in the Miniſters of the Pontiff.

French Fleet puts to Sea.

But while theſe Affairs were under Tranſaction by Negotiation and by Arms, the King of *France* ordered *Pietro Navarra* to put to Sea with a Fleet of Galleys and other Ships, having on board Four Thouſand regular Troops, under a Pretence of cruiſing on the Veſſels of the *Moors*, who having now for many Years roved about our Seas without Diſturbance, infeſted them this Year more than ever, and to make ſome Attack, if the Pope pleaſed, on the *African* Coaſt. But the principal Motive to this Expedition was from the Apprehenſions of the Pontiff, who having declared himſelf wholly on the *French* Side in the Cauſe of the Empire, had Reaſon to be afraid of the Forces of the Catholic King, who, more for Fear of being attacked than from a Deſire to attack others, was with great Diligence fitting out a Squadron to be ſent to guard the Kingdom of *Naples*.

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Under theſe mutual Diſtruſts and Jealouſies the two Kings however continued in the ſame Diſſimulation of mutual Friendſhip, and the Grand Maſter of *France* and M. *de Cheures*, who were intruſted in a manner with all the Counſels, and knew the Minds of their reſpective Kings, held a Congreſs by their Commiſſion at *Montpellier*, for debating on the Confirmation of the Marriage of the ſecond Daughter of the King of *France* with the King of *Spain*, and much more for ſettling the Affair of *Navarre*, the Reſtitution of which Kingdom to its former Sovereign had been promiſed by the Convention made at *Noyon*, and, tho' earneſtly ſollicited by the King of *France*, had hitherto been delayed by the Catholic King under various Pretences. But the Death of the Grand Maſter happening before the Conferences began, defeated all Expectations from that Meeting. *A. D.* 1519.

Death of *Lorenzo de' Medici*.

A T this Time died *Lorenzo de' Medici* of a Diſorder under which he had languiſhed almoſt ever ſince his Return from *France*, where he conſummated his in-

A. D. 1519. auſpicious Marriage, for a very few Days before his Death his Wife had prepared the Way by dying in Childbed.

Pope diſpoſes of *Florence* and *Urbino*.

AFTER the Death of *Lorenzo* the Pope being deſirous to keep, while he lived, the Power of the *Florentines* united with that of the Church, rejecting the Counſels of ſome who adviſed him, ſince there remained no more but himſelf of the legitimate Deſcendents by the male Line of *Coſmo de' Medici* the Founder of that Greatneſs, to reſtore his Country to its Liberty, preferred the Cardinal *de' Medici* to the Adminiſtration of that State, either from a Deſire to perpetuate the Name of his Family, or out of Hatred to the Name of a Republic becauſe of his Exile. And judging that, on account of the Love of the People to their antient Duke, it would be difficult to keep Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, under the Name of the only remaining Daughter of *Lorenzo* comprehended in her Father's Inveſtiture, he reſtored it, together with *Peſaro* and *Sinigaglia*, to the Apoſtolic See. Nor thinking this ſufficient to reſtrain the Ar-

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dor of the People, he cauſed the Walls of the City of *Urbino* and of the other principal Places of that Dutchy to be demoliſhed, except thoſe of *Agobbio*, to which City, becauſe it was not ſo cordially affected to *Franceſco Maria* on account of its Emulation of the City of *Urbino*, he ſhewed Favour, and increaſed its Reputation, appointing it the Capital of that Dutchy: And the more to weaken that State he gave the Fortreſs of *San Leo*, with the whole *Montefeltro* and the *Piviero di Seſtina*, uſually reckoned in the Territory of *Ceſena*, to the *Florentines*, in Payment of Money they had diſburſed for him in the War of *Urbino*, for which the Apoſtolic Chamber, by his Procurement, before ſtood bound, the *Florentines* not being well pleaſed with that Satisfaction, tho' unable to reſiſt his Will. *A. D.* 1519.

THE Contention for the Empire, which held all Chriſtendom in vaſt Suſpenſe, was ſtill proſecuted by both Kings with greater Warmth than ever, in which the King of *France* was every Day more and more deluded by hearkening to the mighty

King of *France* ſtrives to be Emperor.

A. D. 1519. Promiſes of the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, one of the Electors, who having received from him very large Offers of Money, and perhaps a Sum in Hand, had not only obliged himſelf by ſome ſecret Articles to give him his Vote, but promiſed that the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, his Brother, one of the three Electoral Prelates, ſhould do the ſame. The King alſo promiſed himſelf much from ſome others of the Electors, and was in Hopes, if the Votes ſhould be equal, of the Vote of the King of *Bohemia*, by which, when the ſix Electors, three of whom are Prelates, and three Princes, diſagree with an Equality on each Side, the Controverſy is decided. Wherefore he ordered the Admiral, who had before been diſpatched into *Germany* on theſe Affairs, a very large Sum of Money to be diſtributed among the Electors; and being informed that many of the Free Towns, in conjunction with the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, had aſſembled many Troops, and threatened ſuch as would transfer the Empire to Foreigners, he made further Proviſions of Money for oppoſing with Arms all thoſe who would prevent

prevent the Electors from chuſing him Emperor. But the States and People of *Germany* were very ſollicitous that the Imperial Dignity might not be removed from that Nation, and even the *Swiſs*, inſpired with the Love of the common Country *Germany*, had ſupplicated the Pontiff to uſe his Intereſt for none in that Election who ſhould not be of the *German* Language. He continued however to favour the King of *France*, in Hopes that by ſhewing himſelf ſo zealous for his Cauſe, he would be induced to give the greater Credit to his Counſel, by which at laſt he endeavoured to perſuade him to lay aſide all Hopes of being elected himſelf, and to continue the ſame Efforts for procuring the Election of any other of the *German* Princes. But his Advice took no Effect, for the Admiral and *Roberto Orſino*, deceived by thoſe who, to draw Money from the *French*, gave them moſt certain Aſſurances, and poſſeſſed with Paſſion, one by being of the *French* Temper, and a Miniſter of the Court, and the other from his eaſy Diſpoſition, and a Deſire of acquiring the royal Fa-

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A. D. 1519. vour, confirmed the King with their chimerical Advices more and more in the Hopes of obtaining his Ends.

SUCH were the Negotiations when thoſe to whom belongs the Power of electing the *Roman* Emperor, not by the more antient Cuſtom, or well grounded Reaſon, but by the Conceſſion of the *Roman* Pontiff *Gregory* V. a *German* by Nation, aſſembled themſelves, according to antient Cuſtom, at *Francfort*, a Town of *lower Germany*. While they employed themſelves in various Debates on the due Time for proceeding to the Election according to their Statutes, an Army, ſet on Foot by Order of the King of *Spain*, who was more ready to raiſe Soldiers with his Money than to give it away to the Electors, advancing within the Neighbourhood of *Francfort*, under Pretence of preventing all Attempts for procuring an Election by violent Means, increaſed the Courage of thoſe Electors who favoured his Cauſe, drew thoſe who were dubious over to the ſame Side, and ſo intimidated *Brandenburg*, who was inclined to the King of *France*,

France, that deſpairing of the Concurrence of the other Electors in his Deſigns, and willing to avoid the Hatred and Reproach of the whole Nation, he had not the Aſſurance to diſcover his Intentions. On proceeding therefore to the Act of Election, on the twenty-eighth Day of *June*, *Charles* of *Auſtria*, King of *Spain*, was elected Emperor by the joint Votes of four Electors, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, the Count Palatine, and the Duke of *Saxony*; but the Archbiſhop of *Triers* gave his Vote for the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, who alſo concurred with him in the Election of himſelf. Nor was it doubted that if, by the Equality of Votes, the Election had come to the Diſpoſal of the ſeventh Elector, the Event would have been the ſame; for *Lewis* King of *Bohemia*, who was alſo King of *Hungary*, had promiſed his Vote to *Charles*.

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Charles King of *Spain* elected Emperor.

THIS Election was a great Mortification to the King of *France*, and to his Dependents in *Italy*, and on the other Hand greatly animated thoſe who had contrary

A. D. 1519. Hopes or Deſigns, ſeeing ſuch great Power veſted in one Prince alone, young in Years, and one to whom, it was believed, had by many Prophecies been promiſed a large Empire with wonderful Felicity. And tho' he did not abound in Money as much as the King of *France*, yet he enjoyed one Advantage of very great Importance, in that he could fill up his Armies with *German* and *Spaniſh* Infantry, highly eſteemed for their Valour and Bravery, in which Reſpect it was quite otherwiſe with the King of *France*, for as he had no Foot in his own Kingdom that were capable of reſiſting the others, he could not engage in any conſiderable Wars without hiring Infantry from foreign Countries with very great Expence, and ſometimes with very conſiderable Difficulty. In this Exigence he was obliged to entertain in his Service with great Care and Coſt the *Swiſs*, and to bear with many Injuries from them, and yet he was never ſecure of their Conſtancy, nor of their Faithfulneſs. Nor was it doubted but that between two young Princes, who had many Cauſes of Emulation, and of Contention, the

the Scene would at laſt end in a very dangerous and deſtructive War; for the King of *France* retained his Deſire of recovering the Kingdom of *Naples*, pretending a juſt Title to it, and he had at Heart the Reinſtating of King *John* in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, with the Hopes of which he was now ſenſible that he had been vainly amuſed. *Cæſar* was uneaſy at the Payment of the One Hundred Thouſand Ducats, to which he was obliged by the Convention at *Noyon*, and it appeared to him that the King, by rejecting the Accommodation before made at *Paris*, and making an immoderate Uſe of the Opportunity of his being neceſſitated to paſs into *Spain*, had in a manner conſtrained him by Force to come to a new Agreement. The Cauſe of the Duke of *Guelderland* always preſented itſelf freſh before them, which alone, on account of his being in the Protection of the King, and reputed a great Enemy by the State of *Flanders*, was enough to excite them to Arms. But what above all ſtirred up the keeneſt Reſentment in the Breaſt of the new *Cæſar* was the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, which being

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Cauſes of Diſſention between the Emperor and King of *France*.

A. D. 1519. being ſeized by *Lewis* XI. on occaſion of the Death of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, maternal Grandfather to *Cæſar*'s Father, had always diſquieted the Minds of that Duke's Succeſſors. Nor were there wanting Incentives or Cauſe of Contention on account of the Dutchy of *Milan*, of which the preſent King, not having, ſince the Death of *Lewis* XII. obtained nor demanded the Inveſtiture, and many Exceptions being pretended to the Rights he had acquired by the Inveſtiture made to his Predeceſſor, both from the Invalidity and Diminution of thoſe Rights, even this was ſufficient to raiſe a War between them. But neither Times nor Opportunities would at preſent permit them to make any Movement, for beſides that it was neceſſary for *Cæſar* to repaſs firſt into *Germany* to receive, according to the Cuſtom of Emperors elect, the Crown of the Empire at *Aix*, it muſt be conſidered, that either of them was ſo powerful that the Difficulty of injuring one the other reſtrained each from being the Aggreſſor before he had perfectly informed himſelf of the Diſpoſitions and Inclinations of the other

other Princes, and particularly, if a War was to be made in *Italy*, of the Pope. But the Mind of the Pontiff, which he took care to conceal by his uſual Arts of Diſſimulation, was unknown to all, and perhaps ſometimes unreſolved in itſelf. He had however, more becauſe he had no Pretence to refuſe it without grievous Offence than out of free Will, diſpenſed with *Charles*'s Acceptation of his Election to the Empire contrary to the Tenor of the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, in which, according to the Form of the antient Inveſtitures, it was expreſly forbidden him. *A. D.* 1519.

THUS *Italy* for theſe Reaſons preſerved itſelf in Peace, tho' at the End of this ſame Year the Pontiff made an Attempt to get Poſſeſſion of the City of *Ferrara*, not by open Arms but by ſecret Conſpiracy. For tho' it was believed that, by the Death of his Nephew *Lorenzo*, wanting Men more than States in his Family, he had laid aſide all Thoughts of the Acquiſition of *Ferrara*, to which he had before always aſpired, yet, either ſtimulated by his

Pope forms a Plot againſt *Ferrara*.

A. D. 1519. his antient Hatred conceived againſt that Duke, or by an ambitious Deſire of equalling, or at leaſt approaching as near as he could, the Glory of *Julius*, the Death of his Brother and Nephew had not in any meaſure allayed the Ardor of thoſe Paſſions. Hence it may eaſily be comprehended that the Ambition of Prieſts has no greater Incentives than from itſelf; ſince neither the Condition of the Times, nor the Situation and Strength of that City, which *Alfonſo* had with the greateſt Diligence put in a very good State of Defence, would allow him to think of taking it by open Force; eſpecially as it was alſo provided with almoſt an infinite Quantity of very fine Cannon and military Stores, and the Duke, by limiting his Expences in every Article, and impoſing new Duties and Cuſtoms, having improved his Revenue to the uttermoſt, and by his induſtrious Management repreſenting on many Accounts rather a Merchant than a Prince, was believed to have accumulated a vaſt Stock of Money. The Pontiff therefore had no Hopes, without an Alteration in the Circumſtances of the Times,

Times, of obtaining his Deſire any other Way than by ſecret Plotting and Conſpiracy, which Method he had for the Time paſt in vain purſued by tampering with *Niccolo da Eſte* and many others. And *Alfonſo* not knowing that he ſtill practiſed theſe treacherous Arts, but thinking himſelf in a manner ſecure, not of his Will but of his Plots, the Pontiff, conſidering the Means that were propoſed to him, that *Alfonſo* was by a ſlow Diſorder reduced to ſo weak a Condition that his Recovery ſeemed almoſt deſperate, and that his Brother the Cardinal, becauſe he was in Diſgrace at the Court of *Rome*, reſided in *Hungary*, thought it a fit Seaſon to attempt the Execution of a Deſign which had been propoſed to him by ſome Exiles of *Ferrara*, in concert with *Aleſſandro Fregoſo* Biſhop of *Ventimiglia*, who then lived in *Bologna*, becauſe he had aſpired to be Doge as his Father the Cardinal had been, and was therefore obnoxious to *Ottaviano Fregoſo*. This Prelate had met with bad Succeſs in the Plots which he had formed for procuring his Return to his own Country, but promiſed himſelf

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A. D. 1519. himſelf better Fortune in that which he managed for others in foreign Countries.

THE Biſhop then, under Colour of making an Attempt to enter by Force of Arms into *Genoa*, privately received of the Pontiff Ten Thouſand Ducats, with which he liſted Two Thouſand Foot in the Territory of *Rome*, and in the *Lunigiana*. On the Report of this Levy *Ottaviano Fregoſo*, ſollicitous for his own Safety, put himſelf in a State of Defence by Sea and Land; the Biſhop then, making a Show as if by the Diſcovery of his Deſigns he was cut off from all Hopes of effecting at preſent a Change in the State of *Genoa*, gave Notice to *Federigo da Bozzolo*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance, in a great meaſure, *Concordia* was maintained againſt *Giovanni Franceſco* Count of *Mirandola*, that he might ſerve himſelf with thoſe Troops while their Pay laſted, which was near a Month, and paſſing the *Appennine*, deſcended into the Territory of *Correggio*, marching ſlowly along the Road of *Concordia*. The Execution of the Plot depended on paſſing the River *Po*, for which

which Purpoſe certain Servants of *Alberto da Carpi*, who was conſcious to the Deſign, had hired, under the Name of Dealers in Corn, a good Number of Boats which lay at the Mouth of the River *Secchia*, as the Inhabitants of the circumjacent Territory call the Place where the *Secchia* falls into the *Po*. As ſoon as the Troops had paſſed the *Po* the Biſhop deſigned to advance with utmoſt Speed to *Ferrara*, where he had been a few Months before, and had obſerved a Place of the Town on the *Po*, where above Forty Braces of the Wall were fallen down, and made a wide and open Breach, very eaſy to enter. This Part of the Wall had tumbled down not long before, and was not ſo quickly repaired becauſe the Nearneſs of the River, and Security of the Inhabitants gave too much Occaſion to the Negligence of thoſe whoſe Office it was carefully to provide againſt ſuch Accidents. But as ſoon as a Report was ſpread through the circumjacent Country that *Ventimiglia* with theſe Troops had paſſed the *Appennine*, the Marquis of *Mantoua*, not out of any particular Jealouſy, but from an old

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Cuſtom

A. D 1519. Cuſtom of rendering the Paſſage of Rivers difficult to foreign Troops, had removed all the Boats in the Mouth of the *Secchia*, ſo that *Ventimiglia* was not able to ſerve himſelf of the hired Boats, and had no Conveniency of ſpeedily providing others, chiefly becauſe the neighbouring Governors of the Church had not been adviſed of the Project, nor had any Commiſſion, if they had known it, to interfere in it. While therefore the Biſhop and the People of *Alberto* were ſeeking out ſome Remedy for this Inconvenience, he lay with the Troops about *Correggio*, and in the neighbouring Places, where having talked too freely in public, and indiſcreetly diſcovered to ſome particular Perſons all the Circumſtances of his Deſign, the Thing took Air, and came to the Ears of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and he, by one of his People, notified it to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was ſo far from ſuſpecting ſuch a Deſign, that he could hardly be perſuaded to believe it. Moved however more by the probable Evidence of the broken Wall than by any other Circumſtance of the Story, he

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ſet about raiſing Troops; and pretending that he had no Suſpicion of the Pope, tho' in his Heart he thought otherwiſe, he informed him of the Plot that had been laid againſt him by the Biſhop of *Ventimiglia*, and beſeeched him to ſend his Orders to the neighbouring Governors to aſſiſt him if Neceſſity required. The Pope readily granted his Requeſt by favourable Briefs, but at the ſame time privately tranſmitted different Orders. The Report of the Preparations that were making at *Ferrara*, joined to the Difficulty of paſſing the *Po*, extinguiſhed the Hopes of the Biſhop of *Ventimiglia*; wherefore he remained with his Troops near *Concordia*, and while he was carrying on a Treaty with the People of that Place, who already ſuſpected him, about acting againſt *Mirandola*, he ſuddenly one Night preſented himſelf before the Walls of *Concordia*, and gave an Aſſault, but with a Deſign to make the World believe that his Coming into theſe Places was not with an Intent to proceed to *Ferrara*, but to ſeize on *Concordia*. This Attack proved unſucceſsful, and the Troops had after-

A. D. 1519. wards his Leave to break up and diſpoſe of themſelves. Many however were of Opinion, and *Alfonſo* himſelf, that if the Biſhop had not been deprived of the Means for paſſing the *Po*, he would have made his Way through the broken Wall into *Ferrara*, where was no Garriſon, nor Suſpicions of any Danger, the Duke in a very bad State of Health, and the People ſo diſſatisfied with his Adminiſtration, that very few, on the riſing of a ſudden Tumult, would have taken Arms, or hazarded their Lives for the State.

1520. We are now entering upon the Year 1520, in which, the Peace of *Italy* being continued from the ſame Cauſes by which it had been preſerved the Year preceding, new upſtart Doctrines began to ſpread mightily, firſt againſt the Authority of the *Roman* Church, and afterwards againſt the Authority of the Chriſtian Religion. This peſtiferous Poiſon had its Original in *Germany*, in the Province of *Saxony*, by the Preachings of *Martin Luther*, a profeſſed Friar of the Order of *St. Auſtin*, who begun for the moſt part with reviving the

Riſe of the *Lutheran* Hereſy.

old

old Errors of the *Bohemians*, which being condemned by the General Council of the Church held at *Conſtance*, and *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, two of the principal Heads of that Hereſy, burnt by the Authority of that Council, had been for a long Time reſtrained within the Confines of *Bohemia*. The Occaſion of their Revival in *Germany* was a too licentious Uſe of the Authority of the Apoſtolic See by *Leo*, who, in regard to the Favours which that Court diſpenſes in ſpiritual and beneficial Matters, following the Advice of *Lorenzo Pucci*, Cardinal of *Santi Quattro*, had diſperſed over all the World, without Diſtinction of Times and Places, moſt ample Indulgences, of Virtue ſufficient not only for the Relief of Mortals in this preſent Life, but to deliver the Souls of the Deceaſed from the Pains of Purgatory. And becauſe it was notorious that theſe Indulgences were granted for extorting Money from People, and were imprudently exerciſed by the Commiſſaries deputed to that Exaction, moſt of whom had purchaſed of the Court the Licence to exerciſe that Office, he had excited A. D. 1520.

A. D. 1520. much Indignation, and given great Offence in many Places, and eſpecially in *Germany*, where the Power of delivering the Souls of the Dead out of Purgatory was ſeen to be ſold by his Officers for a ſmall Price, or play'd away at Gaming in Taverns. And the Scandal was increaſed when it was known that the Pope, who, from the Eaſineſs of his Temper, diſcharged the pontifical Office in many Caſes with little Majeſty, had made a Preſent to his Siſter *Maddalena* of the Profits ariſing from the Sale of Indulgences in many Parts of *Germany:* And ſhe having appointed as her Commiſſary Biſhop *Aremboddo*, a Miniſter worthy of that Commiſſion, which he exerciſed with great Avarice and Extortion; and it being known over all *Germany* that the Money ſqueezed from them was never paid in to the Pope or the Apoſtolical Chamber, whence perhaps ſome Part of it might poſſibly be applied to good Uſes, but was all deſigned to ſatisfy the Avarice of one Woman, he had rendered deteſtable not only the Exaction and the Officers employ'd in it, but the Name and Authority

thority of him who was ſo ill adviſed as to grant it. A. D. 1520.

LUTHER, having taken this Opportunity, and begun to deſpiſe thoſe Conceſſions, and to queſtion the Authority of the Pope in them, the great Number of his Auditors in a Cauſe ſo plauſible, and grateful to the Ears of the People, ſtill increaſing, began every Day more openly to deny the Authority of the Pontiff. From theſe Beginnings, perhaps honeſt, or at leaſt, from the juſt Occaſion that was given him, in ſome meaſure excuſable, being tranſported with Ambition, popular Applauſe, and the Favour of the Duke of *Saxony*, he not only inveighed too immoderately againſt the Power of the Pontiffs, and the Authority of the *Roman* Church, but alſo, running into the Errors of the *Bohemians*, began in Proceſs of Time to remove Images out of the Churches, to ſtrip Eccleſiaſtical Places of their Ornaments, to allow Marriage to profeſſed Monks and Nuns, and to juſtify ſuch a Practice not only by Authority and Arguments, but alſo by his own Example,

A. D. 1520. to deny that the Pope had any Power without the Biſhopric of *Rome*, or any more Authority in his Dioceſe than what belongs to every other Biſhop within his Precincts, to reject all Determinations of Councils, all the Writings of thoſe called the Doctors of the Church, all the Canon Laws, and Decrees of the Popes, referring himſelf wholly to the Old Teſtament, the Book of the Goſpels, the Acts of the Apoſtles, to whatever is comprehended under the Name of the New Teſtament, and to the Epiſtles of *St. Paul*, but giving to them all new and doubtful Senſes, and Interpretations never known before. Nor did the Madneſs of him and of his Followers reſt within theſe Bounds, but followed, as it may be ſaid, by almoſt all *Germany*, running daily into more deteſtable and pernicious Errors, proceeded ſo far as to ſtrike at the Sacraments of the Church, and to deſpiſe Faſtings, Penances and Confeſſions; ſome of his Followers afterwards, tho' become in ſome meaſure Diſſenters from his Authority, giving themſelves the Liberty to invent peſtiferous and diabolical Opinions con-

concerning the Euchariſt. Theſe Impieties, which all owe their Riſe to a Rejection of the Authority of the Councils and of the Holy Doctors, have made Way for every new and perverſe Invention and Interpretation, and have ſpread themſelves into many Parts even without the Bounds of *Germany*, becauſe they contain a Kind of Doctrine which ſetting Men free from a Multitude of Precepts enjoined for the univerſal Good by the General Councils of the Church, the Decrees of the Popes, the Authority of the Canons, and the ſound Interpretations of the holy Doctors, leaves them at Liberty to live according to their own Diſcretion, and, as it were, without Reſtraint. *A D.* 1520.

Progreſs of *Lutheraniſm.*

THE Pontiff uſed his Endeavours to ſuppreſs this peſtiferous Doctrine in its Beginnings, but did not uſe the Remedies and Methods proper for the Cure of ſo great a Diſorder; for he cited *Martin Luther* to *Rome*, ſuſpended him from the Office of Preaching, and afterwards for his Diſobedience ſubjected him to the

A. D. 1520. Eccleſiaſtic Cenſures, but did not refrain from ſhewing very bad Examples in many Things, which were deſervedly condemned by *Luther*, and gave Offence to all People; whence the Proſecution by Eccleſiaſtic Arms was ſo far from diminiſhing that it increaſed the Reputation of *Martin* with the Public, as if he were fallen under Perſecution more for the Innocency of his Life, and the Soundneſs of his Doctrine, than for any other Cauſe. The Pope ſent many in religious Orders to preach in *Germany* againſt him, and wrote many Briefs to Princes and to Prelates; but neither this nor many other Means that were uſed being ſufficient to repreſs him, becauſe of the Inclination of the People, and the great Favour ſhown him in the Towns of the Duke of *Saxony*, the Cauſe began to appear every Day more and more intereſting in the Court of *Rome*, and increaſed the Apprehenſions that it would prove vaſtly detrimental to the Grandeur of the Popes, to the Profits of the *Roman* Court, and to the Unity of the Chriſtian Religion. Wherefore frequent Conſiſtories were held this Year in *Rome*

Rome on that Occaſion, and frequent Conſultations of Cardinals and Divines appointed for that Purpoſe in the Pope's Chamber, in order to find out Remedies for this Diſorder, which ſtill grew worſe: And tho' there were not wanting ſome to admoniſh that the Proſecution of *Luther* had hitherto only ſerved to increaſe his Reputation and Favour with the People, becauſe it was not attended with a Correction of many Things worthy of Reproof in themſelves, and that it would have been a leſs Evil to diſſemble the Senſe of that Diſgrace, which would perhaps have wore away of itſelf, than by blowing the Coals to kindle a Contention and increaſe its Rage, yet, as it is the Nature of Men to proceed rather by violent Remedies, not only the Proſecutions were carried on with greater Vigour againſt *Martin* and thoſe others his Followers, commonly called *Lutherans*, but it was reſolved to iſſue a very ſevere Monitory againſt the Duke of *Saxony*, by which being exaſperated he became the more vehement Defender of his Cauſe, which for many Years together has been propagated

A. D. 1520.

A. D. 1520. pagated to that Degree that almoſt all Chriſtendom is in great Danger to be infected with the Contagion. Nor has any thing ſo much checked its Courſe as the Knowledge that the Followers of this Doctrine are no leſs obnoxious to the Power of temporal Princes than to the Authority of the *Roman* Pontiffs, which has been the Cauſe that many Princes have for their own Intereſt carefully prohibited under ſevere Penalties the Admittance of this Contagion into their Dominions. On the contrary nothing has ſo much confirmed the Stubbornneſs of theſe Errors, which have ſometimes, by the Extravagances of the Heads of thoſe Hereſies, and by the Variety and even Contrariety of Opinions among themſelves, been ready to fall into Confuſion and ſink away, as the licentious Liberty acquired by the People in their Way of Living, and the Avarice of Potentates, which will not ſuffer them to deprive themſelves of the Goods and Eſtates which they have raviſhed from the Churches.

NOTHING

A. D. 1520.

NOTHING more happened this Year worthy of Memory, except that *Gian Pagolo* expelled *Gentile*, of the ſame Family of the *Baglioni*, and his Partner in the Adminiſtration, out of *Perugia*, either on account of ſome Quarrel ariſing between them, or becauſe *Gian Pagolo*, not contenting himſelf with the greater Share and Authority in the Government, was willing to engroſs the whole Management: The Pope, diſpleaſed at this Violence, cauſed *Gian Pagolo* to be cited to make his perſonal Appearance at *Rome*; but *Pagolo*, afraid to go thither himſelf, ſent his Son *Malateſta* to make his Juſtification, with Offers of his ready Obedience to all the Pope's Commands. But the Pontiff inſiſting on his Coming, after he had been many Days in Perplexity, he reſolved to go, partly from a Confidence in antient Merits, and Services done to his Family on all Occaſions, and partly through the Perſuaſions of *Camillo Orſino* his Son-in-law, and others of his Friends, who employing their Authority, and making Uſe of powerful Means with the Pontiff, either obtained

A. D. 1520. obtained of him an expreſs Promiſe, tho' not in Writing, or at leaſt the Pontiff abuſed their Credulity with the moſt crafty and enſnaring Speeches, and ſo well diſguiſed his Intentions, that thoſe who were confident that they could ſound him, and know his Mind, encouraged *Baglione* to make his Appearance, aſſuring him that he might do it with Safety. But when he was arrived at *Rome*, he found that the Pope, under Pretence of taking his Diverſion, as it was uſual with him at other Times, was a few Days before retired into the Caſtle of *Sant' Angelo*; and the next Morning *Gian Pagolo* going to preſent himſelf, was, before he came to the Pope's Preſence, arreſted by the Governor, and being afterwards rigorouſly examined by Judges appointed for that Purpoſe confeſſed many enormous Crimes both in the Meaſures he had taken for ſupporting himſelf in the Tyranny, and for indulging his brutal Pleaſures, or otherwiſe ſerving his private Intereſt, for which he was, after above two Months Impriſonment, according to the Courſe of Juſtice, beheaded. It was thought that the

Gian Pagolo Baglione beheaded.

the Pope proceeded to this Extremity because in the War of *Urbino* he was convinced by many Signs that *Gian Pagolo* was diſaffected towards him, and held Correſpondence with *Franceſco Maria*, and that he could have no firm Dependence upon him in all Emergencies, nor conſequently be ſecure of *Perugia* while he was at the Head of that State. To ſettle therefore the Adminiſtration of Affairs in that City on ſuch an Eſtabliſhment as ſhould beſt anſwer his Purpoſe, the Sons of *Gian Pagolo*, on the News of their Father's Impriſonment, having fled, he conſtituted *Silvio* Cardinal of *Cortona*, his old Servant and Pupil, his Legate for that Intent, and reſtored *Gentile* to *Perugia*, beſtowing on him the Goods that were in the Poſſeſſion of *Gian Pagolo*, and placing him in the higheſt Seat of Honour and Greatneſs, but he reſted his Affairs on a very weak Foundation. *A. D.* 1520.

THE Pontiff this Year continued to try new Plots on the Duke of *Ferrara*, aſcribing the Miſcarriage of the Biſhop of *Ventimiglia* to Chance, or Want of Conduct, Second Plot of the Pope on *Ferrara* miſcarries.

A. D. 1520. duct, or to ſome other Cauſe. For this Purpoſe he employed *Uberto da Gambera*, Apoſtolical Protonotary, to treat with one *Rodolph*, a *German*, and Captain of ſome *German* Foot in *Alfonſo*'s Guards, who had promiſed to give him free Entrance at Pleaſure by the Gate of *Caſtello Tialto*. The Way lying open for any Troops that might be ſent from *Bologna* and *Modena*, who had no Occaſion to paſs the *Po* but only by a wooden Bridge that is before the Gate, Orders were given to *Guido Rangone* and the Governor of *Modena* to aſſemble ſome Troops on other Pretences, and to march on a ſudden and take Poſſeſſion of that Gate, in which they were to defend themſelves till they were joined by ſome Forces from *Modena* and *Bologna*, where Diſpoſitions were made for the Troops to move with all preſſing Haſte without Form or Order. But the Day being appointed for making the Attack, it was diſcovered that *Rodolph*, who had, by the Pope's Orders, received of *Uberto da Gambera* about Two Thouſand Ducats, had from the very Beginning acquainted *Alfonſo* with every Particular of the Plot; and the Duke after

after he was ſufficiently ſatisfied of the Pope's Mind, and of his Deſigns, not willing to puſh the Affair any farther, took care to publiſh the fraudulent Trick of *Rodolph*. *A. D.* 1520.

In this ſame Year *Cæſar* paſſed by Sea from *Spain* to *Flanders*, having in his Paſſage, not from Neceſſity, as his Father had done, but of his own Accord, touch'd on the Coaſt of *England*, for the Sake of conferring with that King, with whom he remained in good Underſtanding. From *Flanders* he went into *Germany*, and received in *October* at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, a City enobled by the antient Reſidence and Sepulchre of *Charles the Great*, amidſt a vaſt Concourſe, the firſt Imperial Crown, the very ſame, as it is reported, with which *Charles the Great* was crowned, which was ſet on his Head, according to antient Cuſtom, by the Authority of the Princes of *Germany*. *Charles* crowned Emperor.

But this Felicity of *Charles* was diſturbed by new Troubles ariſing in *Spain*; for the People of theſe Kingdoms had Inſurrection in *Spain*.

been

A. D. 1520. been uneaſy at his Promotion to the Empire, becauſe they knew it would be neceſſary for him, on various Accounts, to ſpend no ſmall Part of his Time out of *Spain*, to the very great Inconvenience and Detriment of them all. But they had much greater Motives from the immoderate Hatred which they had conceived againſt the Avarice of thoſe who were in the Adminiſtration, eſpecially againſt *Cheures*, who with inſatiable Greedineſs had by all manner of Ways accumulated a vaſt Sum of Money. And the ſame Meaſures had been taken by the other *Flemings* in ſelling at a Price to Foreigners thoſe Places which were wont to be beſtowed on *Spaniards*, and rendering venal all Graces, Privileges and Expeditions, for which Petitions were preferred at Court. Hence all the People being incenſed againſt the Name of the *Flemings*, the Inhabitants of *Valladolid* had been tumultuous at the Departure of *Cæſar*, and he was hardly gone out of *Spain*, when all the People made an Inſurrection, not, as they ſaid, againſt the King, but againſt wicked Governors, and communicating Counſels together paid

no

no longer Obedience to the King's Commiſſioners, but had aſſembled the greater Part of the People, who ſettled a Form of Government, which was exerciſed in the Name of the *Holy Junto*, a Title they beſtowed on the General Council of the People. The Generals and Miniſters of the King took up Arms againſt the Seditious, and an open War was commenced, and Diſorders grew to ſo great a Head, that *Cæſar* had very little Authority left; which Circumſtance of his Affairs increaſed the Hopes of thoſe in *Italy* and elſewhere who had Reaſon to deſire a Diminution of ſo formidable a Greatneſs. *A. D.* 1520.

CÆSAR's Fleet had however been ſucceſsful againſt the *Moors*, and taken from them the Iſland of *Gerbe*; and in *Germany* the Influence of the King of *France* was in ſome meaſure reſtrained. For the King favouring the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who was at Variance with the *Swabian* League, with a View to foment Diviſions in that Province, the People ſo highly reſented it that they drove the Duke out of his State, and ſold it as acquired by Conqueſt to *Cæſar*, who was deſirous to Duke of *Wirtemberg* driven out of his State.

A. D. 1520. humble the Adherents of the King of *France*, and obliged themſelves to defend him in the Poſſeſſion of it againſt all who ſhould offer to moleſt him. The Duke therefore ſeeing himſelf ruined by his Reliance on *France*, had no other Way left than to have Recourſe to the Clemency of *Cæſar*, and accept ſuch Terms as he ſhould be pleaſed to grant him, and yet was not, on account of this Submiſſion, reinſtated in the Poſſeſſion of his Dutchy.

At the End of this Year about Three Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, who had been ſeveral Months in *Sicily*, not chuſing to return to *Spain* according to the Orders they had received from *Cæſar*, and deſpiſing the Authority of their Officers, croſſed over to *Reggio* in *Calabria*; then proceeding, with vaſt Damage over all the Country in their March, towards the State of the Church, excited terrible Apprehenſions in the Pope, who had fixed in his Memory the troubleſome Affair of *Urbino*, and feared leſt, either at the Inſtigation of other Princes, or attended by Duke *Franceſco Maria*, or the Sons of *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, and ſome other Enemies of the Church, they would raiſe

ſome

ſome Combuſtion, eſpecially ſince they re- A. D. 1520.
fuſed the Offers made them by the Vice-roy of *Naples*, and by himſelf, to take Part of them into Pay, and beſtow a Donative of Money on the reſt. Aſſuming greater Spirits from theſe Offers they put themſelves in Motion towards the River *Tronto*, not through the cloſe Country of the *Capitanato*, but through the wide Road of *Puglia*; and being continually reinforced with other Foot, and ſome Horſe, they became more and more formidable. A Stop was however put to this Movement with more Eaſe and Quickneſs than had been imagined. For theſe Troops having paſſed the *Tronto* in order to advance into the *Marca Anconitana*, whither the Pope had ſent good Numbers of Soldiers, and laying Siege to *Ripa Tranſona*, they were after a vigorous Aſſault, in which they loſt many of their Men, conſtrained to retire. This unſucceſsful Attempt ſo greatly diminiſhed their Courage and Reputation, that they were glad to accept from the Agents of *Cæſar* Conditions far leſs to their Advantage than thoſe which they had before rejected.

End of the Thirteenth Book.

Franceſco Guicciardini's
HISTORY
OF
The WARS in ITALY.

BOOK XIV.

THE CONTENTS.

Pope Leo *the Cauſe of the Interruption of the Peace in* Italy. *He joins in Confederacy with the Emperor againſt the King of* France. *The Emperor gives* Luther *a Hearing at the Diet of* Worms, *and afterwards puts him under the Ban of the Empire. Beginning of the War in* Lombardy. Reggio *defended by* Guicciardini, *the Author of this Hiſtory, againſt the* French. Parma *and* Piacenza *reduced under the Dominion of the Church.* Parma *defended by the Author againſt M.* L'Eſcud *Brother of* Lautrech. French *loſe the Dutchy of* Milan. *Death of Pope*

Pope Leo, *and Election of* Adrian *VI. Duke of* Urbino *recovers his State. Battle of* Bicocca. *Wars in the States of* Urbino, *in* Tuſcany *and* Lombardy.

AN effectual Stop having been put, in the Beginning of the Year 1521, to the Progreſs of that ſmall Movement, which was more dreaded from the recent Memory of the *Spaniſh* Foot that attacked the Dutchy of *Urbino*, than from the Appearance of any probable Reaſons of Fear, the Affairs of *Italy*, a few Months after, began to be embroiled by much longer, greater, and more dangerous Wars than thoſe that were paſt, the Ambition of two very potent Kings, full of mutual Emulation, Hatred and Jealouſy, ſtimulating them to exerciſe all their Power, and diſcharge all their Wrath in *Italy*. That unhappy Country having enjoyed three Years Peace, though dubious, and full of Jealouſies, it now ſeemed as if Heaven, its own Fate, and Fortune, were either envious of its Tranquillity, or were apprehenſive that the Continuation of its *A. D.* 1521.

A. D. 1521. Repoſe would iſſue in the Reſtoration of its antient Felicity.

Pope Cauſe of the War in *Italy*.

THE Beginning to new Commotions was given by thoſe very Perſons who, being more than others obliged to procure the Preſervation of Peace, are more frequently than others the Diſturbers of it, and kindle with all their Induſtry and Authority a Combuſtion which, if no other Remedy be ſufficient, they ought to extinguiſh with their own Blood. For tho' the Diſaffection between *Cæſar* and the King of *France* increaſed continually, yet they had no very urgent Reaſons at preſent for a War; neither did they ſo much exceed one the other in Power in *Italy*, or in any Opportunity, as to be able to injure one another without the Aſſiſtance of ſome others of the *Italian* Princes; becauſe the King of *France*, having the *Venetians* in Confederacy with him for the Defence of the State of *Milan*, and the *Swiſs* no longer caring to make Wars in their own Name, but only diſpoſed to ſerve for Hire any one who would pay them, had no Reaſon to be apprehenſive of any Movement

ment of *Cæſar*, either by Way of the Kingdom of *Naples*, or from *Germany*. Neither on the other hand was it eaſy for the King of *France* to injure *Cæſar* in the Kingdom of *Naples* without the Concurrence of the Pope in ſuch an Enterpriſe. Each of the Princes alſo was ſollicitous to procure the Friendſhip of the Pope, by various Arts and Offers, to ſuch a Degree as to make it believed that if his Holineſs had continued to ſtand neuter between them, and had been vigilant, and careful to employ the Pontifical Authority, and the Credit which a juſt Neutrality would have procured him, for tempering Heats and Animoſities, and repreſſing the Ardor of turbulent Counſels in their Origin, the Peace muſt have been preſerved. Nor was there any apparent Cauſe that could neceſſitate him to deſire or excite a War, for he had before met with ill Succeſs in his martial Undertakings, and both theſe Princes were ſo great that he had equal Reaſon to dread the Victory of either, clearly knowing that nothing could hinder or reſtrain the Conqueror from bringing all *Italy* under his Subjection. He held in

A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. quiet Poſſeſſion, and in perfect Submiſſion, the very large State of the Church, and all his Court were flouriſhing and happy in the higheſt Degree; he had full Authority over the State of *Florence*, a powerful State in thoſe Times, and very rich; and he himſelf was by Nature addicted to Idleneſs and Pleaſures, and at that Time, by an Exceſs of Liberty and Greatneſs, averſe above meaſure to all Buſineſs, ſpending whole Days with Muſicians, Jeſters and Buffoons, and inclined, even beyond the Bounds of Decency, to ſenſual Gratifications, ſo that he ſeemed to be quite taken off from all Thoughts of War. To theſe Conſiderations it was added that *Leo* had a Mind ſo full of exalted Ideas of Splendor and Magnificence, as would have been ſurpriſing if he could even have boaſted his Deſcent in a very long Succeſſion from the greateſt Kings; and as in his ſplendid Appearances, or in his Donations, he knew no Meaſure nor Diſtinction, he had not only in a ſhort Time, with incredible Prodigality, diſſipated the Treaſure accumulated by *Julius*, but alſo infinite Sums, raiſed

raiſed from the Diſpatches of the Court*, and many Kinds of new Offices invented on Purpoſe to exact Money, and was ſo exceſſive in his Expences that he was forced to be continually racking his Wits in contriving new Methods for ſupporting his Profuſeneſs, which was by no means leſſened, but rather increaſed. He had no Temptations to aggrandiſe any of his Kindred, and though he was tormented with a reſtleſs Deſire to recover *Parma* and *Piacenza*, and acquire *Ferrara*, yet the Poſſeſſion of theſe Cities did not ſeem a ſufficient Reaſon for him to turn the World upſide down, and ſubvert the public Peace, but rather to temporiſe in Expectation of Occaſions and Opportunities. But it is a true as well as a common Saying, "Men have no greater Enemy than too much Proſperity," ſince it puts them out of their own Government, makes them licentious, and bold in doing Evil, and deſirous of diſturbing their own Happineſs with Innovations. *A. D.* 1521.

LEO

* Bulls, Briefs, &c.

A. D. 1521.

Pope's Motives and Preparations for War.

Leo under theſe Circumſtances, either thinking it a great Diſgrace to have loſt *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which had been ſo gloriouſly acquired by *Julius*; or incapable of reſtraining his paſſionate Deſire of poſſeſſing *Ferrara*; or imagining that if he ſhould die without performing ſome grand Exploit he ſhould leave a Reproach on the Memory of his Pontificate; or doubting, as he ſaid himſelf, that the two Kings finding themſelves each excluded from the Hopes of his Alliance, and by that means hardly capable of injuring one another, would at laſt condeſcend to ſome Convention between themſelves, to the Depreſſion of the Church and of all the reſt of *Italy*; or hoping, as I heard afterwards from the Cardinal *de' Medici*, the Confidant of all his Secrets, that if the *French* were driven out of *Genoa* and the Dutchy of *Milan* it would be eaſy to drive *Cæſar* out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and ſo he might claim to himſelf that Glory of the Liberty of *Italy* to which his Predeceſſor before had manifeſtly aſpired: An Enterprize that *Leo* was unable to accompliſh

pliſh with his own Forces, but was in Hopes, after firſt ſoftening the Spirit of the King of *France* by creating ſome Cardinals, whom he ſhould propoſe, and by ſhewing himſelf ready to grant him other Favours, to induce him to lend his Aſſiſtance againſt *Cæſar*, as if the King were to receive inſtead of a Recompence for his Loſſes the Satisfaction to ſee that *Cæſar* had met with no better Fortune than himſelf. Whatever was his Motive, whether one, or more, or all theſe Reaſons, he turned all his Thoughts upon War, and on making an Alliance with one of theſe two Princes, in Conjunction with whom he might carry on a War in *Italy* againſt the other. And to prepare himſelf for the Execution of this Deſign, and that he might not in the mean time be oppreſſed by either while he was treating with both, though moſt cloſely with the King of *France*, he diſpatched into *Swiſſerland Antonio Pucci* Biſhop of *Piſtoia*, who afterwards obtained, when Times were changed, the Dignity of the Cardinalſhip, to enliſt and conduct into the State of the Church a Body of Six Thouſand *Swiſs*. A. D. 1521.

The

A. D. 1521. The Cantons made no Difficulty of granting this Levy on account of the Confederacy which the Pope had renewed with them after the War of *Urbino*, and a free Paſſage being obtained for them through the State of *Milan* they were conducted into the Dominion of the Church, and quartered for ſeveral Months in *Romagna* and the *Marca*. And every one being at a Loſs to conjecture for what Purpoſe he put himſelf to ſuch great and needleſs Charges, ſince there was no Movement in *Italy*, he proteſted that he had called them about him that he might live in Safety, knowing that the Rebels of the Church were every Day forming new Schemes. This Reaſon not carrying an Air of Probability, the Opinion and Talk of the Public were different on the Subject. Some believed that he had put himſelf in a State of Defence for fear of the King of *France*, others imagined that he had a Deſign to ſeize on *Ferrara*, and others again were of Opinion that his Intent was to drive *Charles* out of the Kingdom of *Naples*. But there was a ſecret Treaty on Foot between the Pope and the King of *France* about

about attacking with joint Forces the *Neapolitan* Kingdom, of which the Conditions were, that *Gaeta* and all the Country between the River *Garigliano* and the Borders of the Eccleſiaſtic State ſhould be an Acquiſition to the Church, and the reſt of the Kingdom ſhould be appropriated to the ſecond Son of the King of *France*, who, becauſe he was under Years, was, together with the Kingdom, till he came of mature Age, to be put under the Government of an Apoſtolical Legate, who was to reſide in *Naples*. Beſides this it was ſpecified in the Treaty that the King ſhould aſſiſt the Pontiff againſt the Subjects and Feudatories of the Apoſtolic See, which was an Article that concerned the Eſtabliſhment of the States poſſeſſed by the Church, and had no leſs Regard to the Pope's immoderate Deſire of acquiring *Ferrara*. *A. D.* 1521.

King of *France* recovers *Navarre*.

At this Juncture it happened very ſeaſonably for theſe Purpoſes that the King of *France*, invited by the Opportunity of the Tumults in *Spain*, and encouraged, as he afterwards aſſerted in his Remonſtrance,

A. D. 1521. ſtrance, by the Pope, ſent an Army under the Command of *Aſparrot*, Brother of *Lautrech*, into *Navarre* to recover that Kingdom uhder the Dominion of the old King, and at the ſame time he ſent Orders to *Robert de la Marche* and the Duke of *Guelderland* to begin Hoſtilities on the Borders of *Flanders*. The Diviſions in *Spain* paved an eaſy Way for *Aſparrot* to reconquer the Kingdom of *Navarre*, which was deſtitute of Defence, and where the Memory of the former King was not obliterated; and after that General had by the Force of his Artillery made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of *Pampelona*, he entered the Borders of the Kingdom of *Catalonia*, took Poſſeſſion of *Fontarabia*, and made Incurſions as far as *Logrogna**.

BUT

* *Catalonia* was never reckoned a Kingdom, but had only the Title of a Principality; and *Fontarabia* is not in *Catalonia*, but quite remote from it on the Weſtern Ocean. But if for *Catalonia* we read *Aragon*, which was a Kingdom bordering on *Navarre*, and comprehending *Catalonia*, and ſuppoſe a Detachment ſent to take Poſſeſſion of *Fontarabia*, which lies in the Kingdom of *Galicia*, the Senſe will be clear, eſpecially ſince it appears from the 11th Book that *Logrogna* was in the Kingdom of *Aragon*, for which perhaps he might ſubſtitute *Catalonia* becauſe it was the beſt Part of it.

A. D. 1521.

BUT, as it often happens in human Affairs, what the Public had imagined as of Neceſſity prejudicial to *Cæſar* turned out to his Advantage. For the Affairs of *Spain*, which had hitherto been greatly embroiled by the various Progreſs of the civil Commotions, were fallen into a very turbulent and dangerous Situation, the Commonalty both high and low combining together on one ſide, and a great Number of Lords and People of Quality having taken up Arms in Behalf of *Cæſar*. The Nobility, out of a Concern for the Intereſt of the State, dreaded the popular Licentiouſneſs, which hurried the Malecontents into open Rebellion, and, wanting a Head of Authority, they woud have taken the Duke of *Calabria* out of the Caſtle of *Sciativa*; but he refuſed to bear Arms againſt *Cæſar*, and would not leave his Priſon. But the Attack made on their own Kingdom by the King of *France* cauſed ſuch Emotions in the Minds of the People, who had ſuffered without Diſpleaſure the Loſs of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, though

A. D. 1521. though become by the Union made by the Catholic King a Member of their own Kingdoms, that partly for this Reaſon, and partly on account of ſome good Fortune obtained by the royal Army, the whole Kingdom of *Spain* was the more eaſily induced to lay aſide their civil Contentions, and returned under Obedience to their King.

Commotions in *Spain* appeaſed.

THE proſperous Succeſs of the King of *France* in the eaſy Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Navarre* was followed, had he known how to uſe the Opportunity, by a happier Event. For the *Swiſs*, with whom reſided his own Ambaſſadors and thoſe of *Cæſar*, each carefully ſolliciting an Alliance with their reſpective Maſters, contrary to the Opinion of many, and to their profeſſed Intentions, rejected the Friendſhip of *Cæſar*, and embraced an Alliance with the King of *France*, obliging themſelves to grant him Leave to liſt as many of their Men as he pleaſed, and for any Enterpriſe, and not to ſuffer any other Power to make Levies in their Country in order to be employed againſt that King.

Swiſs make an Alliance with the King of *France*.

THERE

A. D. 1521.

THERE remained the Execution of the Convention made at *Rome* between the Pope and the King of *France*, but when the King was requeſted to ratify it, he began to demur and ſtand in Suſpenſe, for many had infuſed into him Suſpicions that conſidering the Double-dealing of the Pope, and the Hatred which he had continually manifeſted to him ſince his Aſſumption to the Pontificate, there was Room to ſuſpect ſome Treachery. It was not probable, they ſaid, that the Pope deſired that the Kingdom of *Naples* ſhould come to him or to his Children, becauſe if he had that Kingdom and the Dutchy of *Milan*, he would be too much afraid of his Power; certain it was at leaſt that ſuch great Benevolence, diſcovered all on a ſudden, had ſomething in it myſterious. He ſhould take Heed therefore that he did not ſuffer in his Affairs from Frauds, and that while he was aſſuring himſelf of acquiring the Kingdom of *Naples* he did not loſe the State of *Milan*. For if he ſent an Army to *Naples* it would be in the Power of the Pontiff, who had Six Thouſand *Swiſs*,

King of *France* ſuſpects the Pope.

A. D. 1521. by holding Intelligence with the Emperor's Generals, to overthrow it; and if that Army was overthrown, what Defence was there left for *Milan?* Nor was it to be wondered that the Pope, who had attempted to diſpoſſeſs him of that Dutchy by Force, ſhould, in Deſpair of obtaining his Ends by any other Means, endeavour to deprive him of it by Fraud. Theſe Reaſons made ſuch an Impreſſion on the King that heſitating to ratify, and perhaps expecting an Anſwer on ſome other Negotiations, he ſent no Advices to *Rome*, but left the Pope and his own Ambaſſadors in Suſpenſe.

But the Pontiff, either becauſe he was in reality, though governing himſelf by his uſual Diſſimulation, averſe in his Heart to the King, or becauſe, as ſoon as he ſaw the whole Time in which he could expect an Anſwer expired, ſuſpecting the Reaſon, he was apprehenſive that the King would diſcover his Negotiations to *Cæſar*, which might lay a Foundation for a Convention between them to his Prejudice, excited alſo by his ardent Deſire to recover

Parma

Parma and *Piacenza*, and to perform ſome memorable Exploit, and beſides provoked by the Inſolence of *Lautrech* and the Biſhop of *Tarbe* his Miniſter, who would not admit into the State of *Milan* any of his Decrees, or Eccleſiaſtical Proviſions, but rejected them with very ſcornful and inſolent Speeches, reſolved to enter into a Confederacy with *Cæſar* againſt the King of *France*. The Emperor irritated by the War of *Navarre*, ſtimulated by many of the *Milaneſe* Exiles, and excited alſo by many of his own Council, that were deſirous to humble the Greatneſs of *Cheures*, who had always diſſuaded a Separation from the King of *France*, determined to join in Alliance with the Pontiff againſt the King. What haſtened his Reſolution is ſuppoſed to be the Hopes that, by the Authority of the Pontiff together with his own, he might eaſily weaken the League made with the *Swiſs* before it was conſolidated by Gifts and Gratifications. And what induced the Pope to put the more Confidence in this Alliance was that *Cæſar*, after he had given an Hearing in the Diet of *Worms* to *Martin Luther*, whom

A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. he had invited thither under a ſafe Conduct, and cauſed his Opinions to be examined by a Number of Divines, who made their Report that his Doctrine was erroneous, and pernicious to the Chriſtian Religion, had, to gratify the Pontiff, put him under the Ban of the Empire; which ſo terrified *Martin* that, if the injurious and highly threatning Words which were given him by the Cardinal of *San Siſto* the Apoſtolical Legate had not thrown him into the utmoſt Deſpair, it is believed it would have been eaſy, by giving him ſome Preferment, or providing for him ſome honourable Way of Living, to make him renounce his Errors. But however that be, the Confederacy between the Pontiff and the Emperor was concluded without the Knowledge of *Cheures*, who had hitherto exerciſed the greateſt Authority in ſuch Affairs, and ſeaſonably happened to die about this Time. The League was made for their common Defence, including the Houſe of the *Medici*, and the *Florentines*, with an additional Contract; that a War ſhall commence againſt the State of *Milan* at ſuch Time and in ſuch Manner

Luther under the Imperial Ban.

League between the Pope and Emperor.

ner as ſhall be agreed between the Parties: That after its Acquiſition *Parma* and *Piacenza* ſhall be left to the Church to be held by the ſame Title as in Times paſt: That ſince *Franceſco Sforza*, who was in Exile at *Trent*, laid Claim to the State of *Milan*, by Virtue of his Father's Inveſtiture, and his Brother's Renunciation, he ſhall be put in Poſſeſſion of it as ſoon as acquired, and the Confederates ſhall be bound to maintain and defend him in it: That no other Salts ſhall be conſumed in the Dutchy of *Milan* than thoſe of *Cervia*: And that the Pope ſhall be permitted not only to proceed againſt his own Subjects and Feudatories, but *Cæſar* alſo ſhall be obliged, as ſoon as he has conquered the State of *Milan*, to aſſiſt him againſt them, and particularly for the Acquiſition of *Ferrara*. The Tribute of the Kingdom of *Naples* was raiſed, the Cardinal *de' Medici* was promiſed a Penſion of Ten Thouſand Ducats on the Archbiſhopric of *Toledo*, newly vacant, and an Eſtate of the yearly Revenue of Ten Thouſand Ducats in the Kingdom of *Naples* was to be ſettled on *Aleſſandro de' Medici*, natural Son of *Lorenzo* late Duke of *Urbino*.

A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521.

Rights of the Empire on the Dutchy of *Milan*

FOR the better Elucidation of theſe Affairs it ſeems neceſſary to give ſome ſhort Account of the Rights which *Cæſar* pretended the Empire had at that Time upon the Dutchy of *Milan*. It was aſſerted on the Part of *Cæſar* that the antient Rights of the Dukes of *Orleans* to that State were of no Validity, becauſe the Contract of the Succeſſion of Madame *Valentine* had not been confirmed by the Imperial Authority; and that at preſent it belonged immediately to the Empire, becauſe the Inveſtiture made to *Lodovico Sforza* for himſelf and his Sons had been revoked by his Grandfather *Maximilian* with an Amplification of ſo many Claufes that the Revocation had judicially taken Effect to the Prejudice eſpecially of the Sons, who never having been in Poſſeſſion had a Right only in Expectation, but not in Fact. Wherefore the Inveſtiture made to King *Lewis* for himſelf and his Daughter *Claude* would have been valid in caſe ſhe had been married to *Charles*, and with a Condition that if the Marriage did not follow without any Fault of *Charles*, it ſhould be void, and that

Milan

Milan ſhould directly paſs to *Charles*, who in ſuch a Caſe was inveſted with it in the Preſence of *Philip* his Father. From the Premiſes it was inferred that the ſecond Inveſtiture made to the ſaid King *Lewis*, for himſelf, for the ſaid *Claude*, and for *Angouleſme* was of no Validity to the Prejudice of *Charles* the Pupil, and conſtituted under the Tuition of *Maximilian*; and the preſent King having no Foundation for any Claim on account of this Inveſtiture, much leſs could he alledge that this Dutchy belonged to him by new Rights, becauſe he had neither obtained nor demanded the Inveſtiture of *Cæſar*; and it was manifeſt that the Ceſſion made by *Maſſimiliano Sforza* when he ſurrendered to him the Caſtle of *Milan* could do him no Service, becauſe a Fief alienated by private Authority reverts immediately to the ſupreme Lord; and becauſe *Maſſimiliano*, tho' admitted by Conſent of *Cæſar*, dying in that State without ever receiving the Inveſtiture, could not transfer to others thoſe Rights which never belonged to himſelf. A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521.

THE Confederacy being thus made, tho' very privately, between the Pontiff and *Cæſar* againſt the King of *France*, it was reſolved between them, before they proceeded to open Acts of Hoſtility, to make an Attempt either by ſecret Conſpiracy or ſudden Attack, with the Help of ſome Exiles, both at once on *Milan* and *Genoa*. Orders were therefore given for *Cæſar*'s Galleys, which were at *Naples*, and thoſe of the Pope to preſent themſelves on a ſudden in the Port of *Genoa* with Two Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot on board, convoying alſo *Girolamo Adorno*, by Means of whoſe Authority and Attendance, the Partiſans of the *Adorni* in the *Rivieras* putting themſelves in Motion at the ſame Time by his Procurement, they were in Hopes of exciting an Inſurrection in that City. On the other Hand *Franceſco Sforza* and *Girolamo Morone*, who reſided with him at *Trent*, with many of the principal Exiles, were conſulting on a Method for ſuddenly attacking the *French* Troops in their Quarters at *Parma*, *Piacenza* and *Cremona*, and the

Deſigns of the Pope and *Cæſar* againſt the King of *France*.

the ſame was to be attempted in *Milan*; and that *Manfredi Palavicino*, and *Matto di Brinzi*, Head of a Party in thoſe Mountains, ſhould convey ſome *German* Foot by the Lake of *Como* for attacking that City, where it was aſſured he held ſecret Intelligence; and that if theſe Enterpriſes ſucceeded, or any one of the moſt important, the *Milaneſe* Exiles, who were many of them Perſons of Quality, and were privately to remove their Quarters to *Reggio*, where *Girolamo Morone* was to be on a Day appointed, ſhould put themſelves in Motion for entering the State of *Milan* with Three Thouſand Foot, who were to be got ready as ſoon as poſſible. For this Purpoſe the Pope remitted Ten Thouſand Ducats to *Franceſco Guicciardini*, who had been many Years Governor of *Modena* and *Reggio*, with Orders to give them to *Morone*, for making ſecret Levies of Foot to be in Readineſs on the Succeſs of theſe Undertakings, which *Guicciardini* favoured, but privately, and in ſuch a Manner, that the King of *France* had no Reaſon to complain of the Conduct of his Officers, or interpret

A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. pret the Pope's Deſigns to his Diſadvantage.

Prove all abortive.

BUT every one of theſe Enterpriſes miſcarried: The Fleet that went to *Genoa*, compoſed of ſeven light Galleys, four Brigantines, and ſome other Veſſels, in vain preſented itſelf before the Port; for the Doge *Fregoſo*, forewarned of their Coming, had ſeaſonably provided the Town, on which the Squadron perceiving no Commotion or Alteration, retired to the Eaſtern *Riviera*. And in *Lombardy* many of the Exiles talking too freely of the Deſigns that were in Agitation, and that *Girolamo Morone* was to come to *Reggio*, it came to the Ears of *Federigo da Bozzolo*, who went to *Milan* and notified it to *L'Eſcud*, who ſupplied in *Milan* the Place of his Brother, departed not long before to *France*. *L'Eſcud* calling together the Men at Arms, who were quartered in different Places, and giving Orders to *Federigo* to lead One Thouſand Foot from his own Caſtles, immediately marched with Four Hundred Lances for *Parma*, aſſuring himſelf every Step of the

the Way more and more of the Truth of what *Federigo* had reported to him. For the Exiles not obſerving the Orders which had been given them to aſſemble themſelves in private, had openly marched to *Reggio*, making Demands of Men in all the circumjacent Places, and giving manifeſt Signs that they were to attempt Innovations without Delay. And *Girolamo Morone*, who arrived after them, continued in the ſame Way of Proceeding, induced, perhaps, becauſe the more openly he proceeded, the more Enmity he would breed between the Pontiff and the King. A. D. 1521.

THE Vanity of theſe Devices was already apparent to all, and yet *L'Eſcud* being arrived at *Parma* reſolved the next Morning on the Day ſolemnized for the Birth of *St. John the Baptiſt* to preſent himſelf before the Gates of *Reggio*, in Hopes of an Opportunity of taking all or Part of the Exiles, either imagining that as ſoon as they perceived his Coming they would fly out of the Town, or that, becauſe there were no foreign Soldiers in the Place, the Governor, a Man of a Pro-

A. D. 1521. Profeſſion quite different from that of Arms, would in a Fright deliver them up as Priſoners, or perhaps hoping that the Conſternation of the Inhabitants might give him an Opportunity to enter the City. The Governor had ſome Foreſight of this, and tho', the Attack of *Genoa* not being as yet known, it did not ſeem probable to him that *L'Eſcud* would, without the King's Orders, in a manner begin a War by entering in an hoſtile Way the Dominions of the Pope, yet conſidering how frequently the Impetuoſity of the *French* carries them beyond due Bounds, he immediately ſent an Expreſs to *Guido Rangone*, who was in the *Modeneſe*, to deſire him to haſten that ſame Night to *Reggio*; he ordered that Part of *Morone*'s Foot which were quartered in the neareſt Places to come alſo that Night into the Place, and the People of the Town whom he knew to have an Averſion to the *French*, to repair, at the Sound of a Bell to the Guard of the Gates, aſſigning to every one his Charge. *L'Eſcud* came the next Morning with Four Hundred Lances, followed, but at ſome Miles diſtance,

L'Eſcud comes before *Reggio.*

diſtance, by *Federigo da Bozzolo* with One Thouſand Foot. As ſoon as he approached the Town he ſent *Bonneval*, one of his Officers, to the Governor to demand a Parley, and it was agreed that *L'Eſcud* ſhould come to the Wicket that opens into the Ravelin of the Gate that looks towards *Parma*, and that the Governor ſhould repair to the ſame Place, each of them taking the other's Word for his Security. *L'Eſcud* came according to Appointment, and diſmounting, attended by ſeveral Gentlemen, approached the Wicket at which the Governor went forth, and they began to enter into Diſcourſe; one complaining that Reception and Encouragement were given to Exiles aſſembled to diſturb the Peace of the King's Dominions in the Towns of the Church, contrary to the Articles of the Confederacy; the other, that *L'Eſcud* had with an armed Force ſuddenly entered the State of the Church. *A. D.* 1521.

Parleys with the Governor.

At this Juncture ſome of the People having, contrary to Orders, opened one of the Gates for introducing a Waggon loaded with Meal, and the Troops of *L'Eſcud*

A. D. 1521. *L'Eſcud* being diſperſed about the Wall, and ſurrounding Part of it, *Bonneval*, who ſtood over againſt the Gate that was opened, ſpurred forward with ſome Men at Arms to gain an Entrance. But he was repulſed, and the Gate ſhut in a great Hurry and Buſtle, the Noiſe of which reaching the Place where *L'Eſcud* and the Governor were in Conference, was the Occaſion that the Townſmen and ſome of the Exiles who covered the Walls of the Ravelin diſcharged their Pieces againſt thoſe that ſtood near to *L'Eſcud*, and mortally wounded *Aleſſandro da Trivulzi*, who died two Days after, certainly deſerving a better Fate becauſe he had diſſuaded the Coming before *Reggio*. The reſt fled, and nothing ſaved *L'Eſcud* but the Fear of thoſe who wanted to fire at him leſt they ſhould hit the Governor. But he was in a great Conſternation, and complaining that Faith had been broken with him, knew not how to reſolve on Staying or Flying, when the Governor took him by the Hand, and encouraging him, upon his Word of Honour, to follow him, led him into the Ravelin, accompanied by none of his At-

His Deſign defeated.

Attendants but *La Motte* a *French* Gentleman. And it is ſurpriſing that all the Men at Arms, as ſoon as they underſtood that *L'Eſcud* was entered within the Wall, the Word paſſing among them that he had been made a Priſoner, betook themſelves to Flight in ſuch a Panic that many of them threw away their Lances on the Road. Very few indeed waited for *L'Eſcud*, who after a long Conference, and being certified that the Diſorder was occaſioned by his own Men, was diſmiſſed by the Governor, as well out of Regard to his Word of Honour as to the Inſtructions that he had received from the Pontiff to make no Show of any Deſign againſt the King, for which Reaſons he did not think proper to detain him. Neither would the keeping him a Priſoner have been followed, as many at that time imagined, by a Revolt of the State of *Milan*; for the Men at Arms, tho' put to Flight, having none to purſue them, becauſe there were but very few Horſe in *Reggio*, and meeting on the Borders of the *Reggian* with *Federigo da Bozzolo*, who was advancing forwards with One Thouſand Foot, ſtopped, and drew up in Order;

A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. Order; and the Terror, which had begun to ſpread itſelf in *Parma* and *Milan* on the firſt Advices that *L'Eſcud* was a Priſoner, and the Men at Arms routed, would have made no further Progreſs, after Intelligence had been received that the Men at Arms were in Safety, eſpecially ſince there was no Army near at Hand nor Force ſufficient to cauſe any Movement, and there remained many other Officers of Men at Arms in thoſe Cities. *L'Eſcud*, after aſſembling his Horſe and Foot, retired to *Coriago*, a Village in the *Reggian*, ſix Miles from *Reggio*, from whence after a few Days he retired over the *Lenza* into the *Parmeſan*, having diſpatched *La Motte* to *Rome* to juſtify to the Pontiff the Reaſons of his March to *Reggio*, and to make Inſtances with his Holineſs that, in purſuance of the Articles of the Confederacy between the King and himſelf, he would expel the King's rebellious Subjects out of the State of the Church.

Sad Accident in *Milan*. But an Accident that about this Time happened at *Milan* greatly dejected the Spirits

Spirits of the *French*, as if Heaven fore- A. D. 1521.
warned them by manifeſt Signs of their future Calamities. For on the Day ſolemniſed in Memory of the Death of the Prince of the Apoſtles, the Sun being juſt ſet in a clear Sky, there fell from on high through the Air as it were a Fire before the Gate of the Caſtle, where lay a Number of Barrels of Gunpowder that were brought out of the Caſtle in order to be ſent to certain Fortreſſes, which were kindled by it, and blew up with a vaſt Noiſe, and horrible Shock, that ruined to the very Foundation a Tower of very beautiful Marble erected over the Gate with a Clock on its Top, and not only the Tower but the Walls and Chambers of the Caſtle, and other Buildings contiguous to the Tower, the inconceivable Violence of the Blaſt, and the Fall of ſuch great Fabrics at the ſame time ſhaking all the Edifices of the Caſtle, and the whole City of *Milan*. Huge Stones and Maſſes from the Ruins were whirled with incredible Force this Way and that Way through the Air in a frightful Manner. Multitudes were wounded by the Reper-

A. D. 1521. cuſſion of the Stones, and others buried under the Ruins, with which the Square before the Caſtle was covered to ſuch a Degree that it was quite aſtoniſhing to ſee ſuch a Heap of Stones, ſome of which of a vaſt Bigneſs were blown to the Diſtance of above Five Hundred Paces. And it happening to be the proper Time when the Men, to refreſh themſelves after the Heat of the Day, were walking and paſſing through the Square, above One Hundred and Fifty of the Garriſon periſhed, and the Governors of the Fort and Caſtle, and the reſt of the Soldiers were ſo aſtoniſhed, and deprived of Courage and Counſel, and ſo great a Length of the Wall was fallen down, that it would have been very eaſy for the People, had they made any Commotion, to have ſeized that Night on the Caſtle.

But the Pontiff, as ſoon as he had Advice of the Appearance of *L'Eſcud* before the Gates of *Reggio*, embracing the Opportunity to juſtify his own Actions, made moſt grievous Complaints of the Inſult in the Conſiſtory of Cardinals, and con-

concealing the Confederacy which he had already before privately contracted with *Cæſar*, with the Orders given for their Galleys to act in Conjunction againſt *Genoa*, repreſented that the Deſign of *L'Eſcud* to ſeize on *Reggio* was a Demonſtration of the evil Diſpoſition of the King of *France* towards the Apoſtolic See, for which Reaſon he was under a Neceſſity of providing for its Defence by entering into an Alliance with *Cæſar*, who had never yet diſcovered any Diſpoſitions but ſuch as were worthy of a Chriſtian Prince, as well in all his other Actions, as in his late Zeal ſhown at *Worms* when he ſo ardently undertook the Patronage of Religion. Thus pretending to contract anew with Don *Giovanni Manuello*, Ambaſſador of *Cæſar*, the Confederacy which had been contracted before, they immediately called to *Rome Proſpero Colonna*, to whom they agreed to commit the Management of the Enterpriſe, in order to conſult with him by what Methods and with what Forces they had beſt to act in open Hoſtilities, ſince Plots and Surpriſes had proved unſucceſsful. For neither had the Plot ot *Como* it ſeems taken

A. D. 1521.

Deſign on *Como* miſcarries.

A. D. 1521. Effect, where *Manfredo Palavicino* and *Matto di Brinzi* with Eight Hundred *German* and *Italian* Foot had approached the Walls by Night, in Hopes that *Antonio Ruſco*, a Burgher of that City, would break down ſo much of the Wall near the Houſe in which he lived, as would give them an Entrance into the Town, where, becauſe there were but few *French*, they imagined they ſhould meet with no Reſiſtance. But after they had waited a long Time to no Purpoſe, the Governor of the Town aſſembling all the *French*, and ſuch of the *Comeſe* as he thought beſt affected, made a ſudden Attack on thoſe without, though much ſuperior in Number, and put them to Flight with ſo much Eaſe, that many believed he had corrupted the Commander of the *Germans* with Money and Promiſes. Three Boats were ſunk in the Lake, ſeven taken, and many of the Enemy, among whom were *Manfredi* and *Matto*, in their Flight by the Way of the Mountains. All the *German* Foot were ſet at Liberty, but the others were conducted to *Milan*, where *Manfredi* and *Matto* were publicly quartered, having firſt

first confeſſed that *Bartolomeo Ferrero*, a *Milaneſe*, a Perſon of conſiderable Intereſt, was privy to the Conſpiracy carried on by *Morone*. *Ferrero* was impriſoned together with his Son, and condemned to the ſame Puniſhment, for not diſcovering the ſecret Correſpondence held by *Morone* for effecting a Revolution, and raiſing a Rebellion againſt the King. *A. D.* 1521.

AT this Time the Pope, knowing the great Conveniencies of the State of *Mantoua* for carrying on a War in *Lombardy*, took into his Service under the Title of Captain General of the Church *Federigo* Marquis of *Mantoua* with Two Hundred Men at Arms and Two Hundred light Horſe. But the Marquis, before he entered into the Pope's Pay, renounced the Order of *St. Michael* with which he had been inveſted by the King of *France*, to whom he ſent back the Collar and the Badge which the King preſents to thoſe who are taken into that Order. Marquis of *Mantoua* General of the Church.

BUT at *Rome*, where Conſultations were held on the Order and Method of pro-

A. D. 1521. ceeding in the War, it was reſolved by the Pope and the Imperial Ambaſſador, with the Advice of *Proſpero Colonna*, that the State of *Milan* ſhould be attacked as ſoon as poſſible from the Borders of the Eccleſiaſtic Dominions by the Men at Arms of the Pope and of the *Florentines*. The Number of thoſe Troops, including thoſe brought into the Service by the Marquis of *Mantoua*, amounted to Six Hundred effective Men; and they were to be joined by the Men at Arms which *Cæſar* had in the Kingdom of *Naples*, who were about the ſame Number. It was reſolved alſo to raiſe Six Thouſand *Italian* Foot, and that the Army, which was to aſſemble between the *Modeneſe* and the *Reggian* ſhould be reinforced by the Two Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot that were with *Adorno* in the *Riviera of Genoa*, and Two Thouſand others that the Marquis of *Peſcara* was to lead from the Kingdom of *Naples*; to take into Pay, at the joint Expence of the Pontiff and *Cæſar*, Four Thouſand *German* Foot, and Two Thouſand *Griſons*, to which were to be added Two Thouſand *Swiſs* who had voluntarily remained in the

Reſolutions of the Pope and *Cæſar* on the War againſt *France*.

Service

Service of the Pontiff, for the reſt being tired with ſo long a State of Inaction, and their Time of Harveſt approaching, were returned to their own Habitations before *L'Eſcud* came to *Reggio*, the Pope in vain endeavouring to retain them after they had coſt him an Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Ducats to no Purpoſe. Moreover, it was determined that beſides theſe Preparations Inſtances ſhould be made with the *Swiſs* Cantons, by the Authority of the Pontiff and *Cæſar*, for Leave to hire a Body of Six Thouſand of their Foot, which was no more than what they were obliged to grant by the Conventions which the Pope had made with them, and that they would refuſe the King of *France* the ſame Liberty, the Pontiff alledging that his Confederacy with them was of a longer Date than that which they had contracted with the King. It was further reſolved, if theſe Demands ſhould be granted, to attack the Dutchy of *Milan* on the Side towards *Como*, where it was hoped that an Inſurrection might be eaſily excited by the great Number of Exiles of very honourable Families, and becauſe the Affection which A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. the People uſed to bear to the Name of King *Lewis* was changed into a great Degree of Hatred, ſince the Men at Arms which were diſpoſed in their ordinary Stations for the Guard of that State, being but ill paid on account of the Diſorders in the Finances of the King, who, partly out of Neceſſity, partly from Choice, had overburthen'd himſelf with extraordinary Expences, lived in a very licentious Manner. Nor did the royal Governors, preſuming on the King's Negligence, adminiſter that Juſtice which uſed to be adminiſtered in the Time of the late King, who having a great Affection for the Dutchy of *Milan* had always taken a particular Care of its Intereſts. It bore hard alſo upon the People that they were conſtrained, after the Cuſtom of *France*, to lodge the *French* Officers and Soldiers in their own Houſes, and though it was not at their own Expence, yet being perpetual it was become highly inconvenient and troubleſome. And though it might be alledged that they had ſupported the ſame Burden in the Time of the late King, who, excuſing himſelf by the Example of the

City

City of *Paris*, had never been pleaſed to exempt the *Milaneſe* from this Inconvenience, yet being attended with the aforementioned Grievances, it ſeemed at preſent more inſupportable. To all this was added the Nature of the People, who are deſirous of Novelties, and the Inclination which Men have to free themſelves from preſent Troubles, which is ſo ardent as to make them diſcard all Care and Conſideration of future Events. *A. D.* 1521.

THE Fame of the War reſolved by the Pope and *Cæſar* with ſuch powerful Preparations coming to the Ears of the King of *France* conſtrained him to make no leſs powerful Proviſions for the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*. And the firſt Step to be taken for this Purpoſe was that *Lautrech*, who was come to Court on his private Concerns, ſhould immediately return to *Milan*. That General, ſuſpecting the Inconſtancy and Negligence of the King and the Miniſtry, at firſt refuſed to go unleſs there were paid him down in ready Money Three Hundred Thouſand Ducats, which he affirmed would ſuffice for

King of *France* prepares for his Defence.

A. D. 1521. for the Defence of that State; but at length being prevailed on by the earneſt Inſtances of the King and his Mother, and deceived by their Word of Honour which they had given him, and by the Miniſters who were at the Head of the Adminiſtration of the Finances, who had made him believe that he ſhould find the Money he demanded in readineſs on his firſt Arrival at *Milan*, he returned with the utmoſt Expedition to that City, and with great Sollicitude made the neceſſary Proviſions for the Defence of that Dutchy. For this End he had reſolved, with the King's Approbation, that the royal Men at Arms which were at that Time in *Lombardy* ſhould be joined by the Six Hundred Men at Arms and Six Thouſand Foot that were to be furniſhed according to Treaty by the *Venetians*, who readily offered them, and had already put in Motion their Men at Arms in the *Veroneſe* and *Breſcian*. They had determined alſo to liſt a Body of Ten Thouſand *Swiſs*, aſſuring themſelves that they ſhould not be refuſed that Liberty on account of the new Confederacy, and to cauſe Six Thouſand Volunteers to paſs

paſs from *France* into *Italy*, there to be joined by a Number of *Italian* Foot. Thus provided they were in Hopes either of being in a Condition to venture without much Hazard the Fortune of a Battle, or if their Force ſhould be too weak for an Engagement, that at leaſt it would be ſufficient for providing the Towns with competent Garriſons, and by temporiſing on the Defence to tire out the Enemies; one of whom by his natural Prodigality, and Expences in the War of *Urbino*, was exhauſted of Money; and the other, it was believed, could not be ſupplied from his Kingdoms with Treaſure ſufficient for long ſupporting ſo burdenſome a War. Beſides, they imagined that *Alfonſo da Eſte*, in Deſpair of his own State if the Pope ſhould obtain the Victory, would either put himſelf in Motion to recover his loſt Territories, or at leaſt, by keeping himſelf in Arms, would hold the Pope in ſuch Suſpenſe as would neceſſitate him to leave a good Number of Soldiers for the Security of the Towns in the Neighbourhood of his Dominions. Such were the Reſolutions and Preparations on both ſides, the

A. D. 1521.

King,

A. D. 1521. King, however, in the mean time omitting no Care or Fatigue, though all in vain, to mitigate the Spirit of the Pontiff.

The Armies take the Field.

PROSPERO COLONNA was at that Time in *Bologna*, where, without waiting for the Troops that were to come from the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the *German* Infantry, he aſſembled the other Forces, and leaving ſufficient Garriſons in *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Bologna*, *Ravenna* and *Imola*, out of a Suſpicion of the Duke of *Ferrara*, he came to an Encampment on the River *Lenza*, five Miles from *Parma*, full of Hopes that the *French* would not be able to obtain any Troops of the *Swiſs*, and that by this Means, and by the Diſſaffection of the People, they would be obliged to think rather of abandoning than of defending the State of *Milan*. But it happened otherwiſe, for the Cantons, contrary to the moſt preſſing Inſtances of the Cardinal of *Sion*, and of the Ambaſſadors of the Pontiff and *Cæſar*, reſolved to grant the King the Troops with which they were bound to furniſh him by the Articles of the laſt Convention, and while they were getting

getting in Readineſs *Giorgio Sopraſaſſo* was arrived at *Milan* with Four Thouſand Foot of the *Valleſi*. *Lautrech* therefore willing to defend *Parma* had ſent thither his Brother *L'Eſcud* with Four Hundred Lances, and Five Thouſand *Italian* Foot commanded by *Federigo da Bozzolo*. He was aſſured alſo that the *Venetians* were aſſembling their Troops at *Ponte Vico* in order to march to the Aſſiſtance of the *French*, and that the Duke of *Ferrara* was liſting Foot. Wherefore *Proſpero* being ſenſible that he wanted a greater Force, reſted ſeven Days in his Camp, in which Time he was joined by Four Hundred *Spaniſh* Lances commanded by *Antonio da Leva*, which came from the Kingdom of *Naples*, and by the Marquis of *Mantoua* with Part of his Troops. The Arrival however of the Marquis, Captain General of all the Forces of the Church, made no Alteration in the Authority of *Proſpero Colonna*, in whoſe Perſon it had pleaſed the Pontiff and *Cæſar* that the Government of the whole Army, though without any Title, ſhould reſide; or rather the ſupreme Power of commanding all the Troops of the Church, A. D. 1521.

and

A. D. 1521. and the Marquis of *Mantoua* in particular was in *Franceſco Guicciardini*, who had the Title of Commiſſary General of the Army, but with a very ample Authority above what is uſually conferred on Commiſſaries.

AFTER this *Proſpero Colonno* advanced with his Army to *St. Lazzaro*, a Mile from *Parma*, on the Road that leads to *Reggio*, with a Reſolution to proceed no further till the Arrival of the Marquis of *Peſcara*, who was expected from the Kingdom of *Naples* with Three Hundred Lances, and Two Thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, and till he was alſo joined by the *German* Infantry. All this while they did no other Damage to the *Parmeſans* than by labouring to turn the Courſe of the Waters, and to break the Mills, ſo as to render it difficult for them to grind their Corn. But the Expectations of the Public depended on the Arrival of the *Germans*, againſt whom the *Venetians*, at the Inſtances of the *French*, ſent Part of their Troops into the *Veroneſe* to prevent their Paſſage; for they were come as far

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as *Inſpruck*, where they inſiſted on receiving their firſt Month's Pay at *Trent*, and to be met at the Foot of the Mountain of *Monte Baldo*, which was the Road they ſaid they would take, by a Body of Cavalry, under whoſe Eſcort they might advance forwards with the greater Security. Wherefore *Proſpero* had ſent to *Mantoua* Two Hundred light Horſe, which was to join Two Thouſand Foot levied in the *Mantouan*, and to march forwards with the Artillery of the Marquis, who, to gratify the Pontiff and *Cæſar*, acted, in all Reſpects, as if it were his own Cauſe, and not as a Mercenary. It was more difficult to pay the *Germans* at *Trent*, for tho' the Pope diſburſed the Money for *Cæſar* as well as his own Share, it could not be conveyed through the Territories of the *Venetians* without great Danger. The *Germans* after this being adviſed of the Oppoſition of the *Venetians* demanded greater Aſſiſtance, varying alſo in the Time of paſſing the Mountains, and beginning their March. On this Account the Marquis of *Peſcara*, who was arrived in the *Modeneſe* turned his March into the *Mantouan*, A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. *touan*, whither alſo Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot were ſent from the Camp. At laſt the *Germans* themſelves, impatient of waiting the Time which they had ſignified, ſent new Advice that they would anticipate five Days, declaring alſo that they would wait but one Day for the Arrival of the Horſe at the Foot of *Monte Baldo*, and that if theſe Troops did not arrive they would march back again. It being impracticable for the Marquis of *Peſcara* to be there at the Time required, it was neceſſary for *Guido Rangone* and *Luigi da Gonzaga* to march thither with all poſſible Speed from the Camp. But all this Trouble and Hurry were needleſs; for, as *Proſpero* had always declared, the *Venetians* had it not in their Power to hinder the Paſſage of Six Thouſand Foot, for ſo many in Number were theſe Troops, conſiſting of *Germans* and *Griſons*, whoſe firm and cloſe Array would have ſuſtained the Attacks of their Horſe, and the *Italian* Foot would not have had the Boldneſs to look them in the Face. For this Reaſon, and becauſe the Senate, who ſhunned all

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Occaſions of bringing the War into their own Territories, choſe rather to ſatisfy the *French* with Shews than Effects, the Forces of the *Venetians*, on the Day before the *Germans* were to paſs, retired towards *Verona*; the *Germans* then proceeded to *Valeggio* without Oppoſition, and the next Day entered the *Mantouan*. But when the Marquis of *Peſcara* was arrived in the Camp, the Army, which had reſted thirteen Days at *St. Lazzaro*, marched the next Day and encamped at *San Martino*, where they were the ſame Day joined by the *Germans* and *Griſons*. *A. D.* 1521.

Germans join the Army of the League.

All the Forces that were deſigned being thus aſſembled together, Conſultations began to be held on their future Proceedings. Some in Council propoſed as moſt expedient the making themſelves Maſters of *Parma*, becauſe it was the firſt Town of the Frontier, and if it was left behind their Backs the Army could not with Safety march forwards, on account of the Difficulty of ſupplying the Camp with Victuals, and the Danger of having their Convoys of Money and other

Siege of *Parma* propoſed and rejected.

A. D. 1521. neceſſary Proviſions intercepted by the Enemy; beſides, the Towns between *Parma* and *Bologna* would lie too open, and expoſed to many Inconveniences. The Troops that were in *Parma*, they ſaid, conſiſting for the moſt part of Men levied in Haſte, were but of little Value, and of theſe ſome every Day fled out of the Town, on account of the Difficulty of Pay, and the Scarcity of Meal in the Place. The City was of a great Compaſs, and the People diſaffected, and, tho' diſheartened, ready to reſume freſh Spirits whenever they ſhould perceive the Approach of an Army to their Walls, ſo that if the Place were attacked on ſeveral Quarters at once, it would be difficult for the *French* to reſiſt the Aſſaults of the Enemy from without, and at the ſame Time to ſecure themſelves from the Commotions of the Populace within. Others alledged that the City was well fortified, and had a ſufficient Garriſon; that the Foot which deſerted were of no Value nor Service, but the moſt uſeful and expert Infantry remained in the Place, beſides a good Number of *French* Lances,

all

all diſpoſed to make a vigorous Defence, for otherwiſe *L'Eſcud*, *Federigo da Bozzolo*, and ſo many other great Officers would not have ſhut themſelves up within that City: That the Conqueſt of Towns, on account of the Alterations that have within a ſhort Space of Time been made in the Methods of War, and in the Art of defending Places, is well known to have become more difficult: That it ought carefully to be conſidered how greatly the Army would ſuffer in its Reputation if it failed of Succeſs in its firſt Enterpriſe: That every one muſt preſuppoſe it neceſſary for the Artillery to be planted againſt *Parma* at two different Places. But where could they find in the Camp the Artillery and the other Proviſions in ſufficient Quantities for that Purpoſe? And they could not be conveyed thither in leſs Time than ſome Days, which Delay, beſides their having waſted too much Time already, would give an Opportunity for *Lautrech*, who was every Day expected at *Cremona*, to join the *Venetian* Troops and a greater Number of *Swiſs*, Part of them being already arrived, and with the A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. Volunteer Foot which were expected from *France*, and were reported to be all near at Hand. What ſhould they do if, while the Army was buſily employed about *Parma*, *Lautrech* ſhould come and poſt himſelf in ſome neighbouring Place, whence, without ſuffering himſelf to be forced to a Battle, he might annoy our Convoys of Forage and Proviſions which are every Day coming from *Reggio*, and have already received continual Moleſtations from the Garriſon of *Parma*? It was more adviſable therefore to provide the Camp with Victuals for ſome Days, and leaving *Parma* behind to march on a ſudden to *Piacenza*, which, tho' a City of much greater Compaſs, had but a ſmall Garriſon, and no Fortifications or Artillery, and where the People were of the ſame Diſpoſition as thoſe in *Parma* but more at Liberty to make it known, not having been under the ſame Depreſſion and Reſtraint as the others, and there being alſo ſo inconſiderable a Number of Troops in the Place, it was not to be doubted but that they might immediately take it on the firſt Approach. *Proſpero*

was

was much inclined to this Advice, and declared that he knew a Place where it would be impoſſible to ſtop his Entrance, and that it was the ſame by which formerly *Franceſco Sforza*, at that time General of the *Milaneſe*, victoriouſly forced his Way into the City againſt the *Venetians* who had ſeized on it after the Death of *Filippo Maria Viſconti*: That there was a vaſt Plenty of Proviſions in *Piacenza*, and that the Place lay ſo convenient for attacking *Milan* that the *French* would be neceſſitated to draw almoſt their whole Force to that Capital, by which Means the Cities in the Neighbourhood of *Parma* would be freed from Danger, and, what is more, *Proſpero* promiſed himſelf that if he paſſed the *Po* only with the light Horſe, and advanced with all Speed to *Milan*, that City at the Sound of his Name would make an Inſurrection. And this was the Scheme he had laid even before his Departure from *Bologna*, in purſuance of which, as he thought he ſhould have no Occaſion for beſieging any Town, he had neglected to provide him- A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. ſelf with an extraordinary Quantity of Artillery and Ammunition.

In this Variety of Opinions it was determined, but very ſecretly, by thoſe who had Authority to paſs a Reſolution, that, as ſoon as the Army was provided with Bread and Meal ſufficient to ſubſiſt them for four Days, Five Hundred Men at Arms, Part of the light Horſe, the *Spaniſh* Infantry, and Fifteen Hundred *Italian* Foot, ſhould advance with the utmoſt Expedition to *Piacenza*, to be followed by the reſt of the Army, which, on account of bringing along the Artillery, Proviſions, and of ſo many other Incumbrances, could proceed but ſlowly. And it was firmly believed that on the Arrival of the firſt Part of the Forces the City would immediately cry up the Name of the Church, and if that ſhould not ſucceed, all Succours at leaſt would be by their Means prevented from entering the Place, ſo that when the reſt of the Army came up they might without Doubt make themſelves Maſters of the Town. But it happened that on the Day preceding that in which the Army

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was to move ſome *French* Horſe paſſing the *Po* made an Excurſiion as far as *Buſſeto*, whence a Report was ſpread that the whole *French* Army had paſſed the *Po*, which prevented the aforeſaid Reſolution from taking Effect, and delayed the Departure of the Troops till the Truth ſhould be diſcovered, for which Purpoſe *Giovanni de' Medici*, Commander of the Pope's light Horſe, was ordered out with Four Hundred Horſe to get Intelligence. But what principally confounded this Reſolution was the ambitious Emulation that aroſe between *Proſpero* and the Marquis of *Peſcara*, between whom, even before this Time, there was no good Harmony. *Proſpero* propoſed to lead the firſt Part of the Army himſelf, and the Marquis on the other Side alledged that the *Spaniſh* Infantry, of which he was Captain General, ſhould not go on any Expedition without him. By means of this Emulation between the Generals, which is often prejudicial to the Affairs of Princes, it happened that, though it was known but a few Hours after that the *French* Detachment was returned on the other Side the

A. D. 1521.

Deſign on *Piacenza* laid aſide.

A. D. 1521. *Po*, and that *Lautrech* made no Motion, yet the firſt Reſolution was not executed; but rather, on the contrary, through the Difference of Opinions, and the natural Slowneſs of *Proſpero*, the Time of Inaction would have been ſpun out to a greater Length, if the Apoſtolical Commiſſary had not ſtimulated the Generals by pathetic Speeches to puſh the War with Vigour, remonſtrating to them how much the Pope, and juſtly, was diſpleaſed at the Slowneſs of their Proceeding, and that they had now no Excuſe to plead with him for ſuch unreaſonable Dilatorineſs, which had been hitherto tolerated in Expectation firſt of the *Spaniards*, and afterwards of the *Germans*. The Commiſſary had hardly ended his Admonitions when it was reſolved, rather by a kind of haſty Impulſe than from mature Counſel, to lay Siege to *Parma*, the ſame Perſons who had but the Day before been of a contrary Opinion, being now confident that a happy Iſſue of the Enterpriſe might juſtly be expected, eſpecially from the continual Deſertion of great Numbers of Foot from *Parma* for Want of Pay and Bread. But it was neceſſary

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to interpoſe a further Delay of ſome Days for conveying two more Cannon from *Bologna*, and providing many Things neceſſary for a formal Siege of Towns with Artillery, which *Proſpero*. as we ſaid before, had rejected. This Neglect, or Alteration of the Reſolution, was of vaſt Detriment to the Enterpriſe, for it gave *Lautrech* the more Time to aſſemble the Forces which he expected from *France*, from the *Venetians*, and from the *Swiſs*. So much is it the Duty of wiſe Generals, who conſider how often it may be neceſſary in Wars to alter Reſolutions according to the Variety of Accidents, to make Proviſions in the Beginning as much as poſſible accommodated to all Incidents and to all Counſels. While the Army lay idle nothing paſſed about *Parma* but very ſlight Skirmiſhes. A. D. 1521.

Siege of *Parma*.

At laſt, on the thirteenth Day of their Encampment at *San Martino*, the Army paſſed the River of *Parma* in the Night, and encamped on the *Roman* Road in the Suburbs of the Gate called *Santa Croce* that leads to *Piacenza*, which *L'Eſcud* had the

A. D. 1521. the Day before, on foreſeeing the Enemy's Coming, cauſed to be burnt. The City of *Parma* is divided by a River of the ſame Name, whoſe Waters are not ſo deep but that it may at any Time, except in very rainy Seaſons, be forded. The leſſer Part, which is about a Third of the Whole, is inhabited by the meaner Sort of People, who call it *Codiponte*, and is ſituated towards *Piacenza*. The Generals choſe this Place as moſt convenient for preventing Succours from entering *Parma*, and much more becauſe the Wall was weak on that Side, and ſituated in ſuch a Manner that it could not take the Beſiegers in Flank. The Marquis, who had the Day before gone with ſome Officers to take a View of the Place, reported that it was practicable to begin with battering the Wall that ſame Day; but it having been neceſſary, in order to ruin the Defences, firſt to batter down a Tower that ſtood over the Gate, and was very ſtrong and thick, a whole Day was ſpent about it, during which a large Culverin burſt. The Night following the Cannon were planted againſt the Wall on the Left of the Gate,

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as you go in, and it was deſigned to do the ſame on the Right, leaving the Gate in the Midſt between the battered Places. But it being impoſſible for the Beſiegers to plant Artillery in two ſeparate Places becauſe they had brought with them no more than ſix Cannon and two large Culverins, it was imagined that this Method, by forcing the Garriſon to extend themſelves through one long Space in order to their Defence, would in a Manner produce the ſame Effect. But this was not put in Execution, becauſe on that Side there was, on the Brink of the Ditch that ſurrounded the Walls, a Bank, ſo high, that, before it was levelled or opened, which could not be done in a ſhort Time, it would prevent the Artillery from ſtriking the Wall *. The Battery did great Execution on the Wall, which was old, and very weak, and two Breaches being made of ſufficient Breadth, the Generals talked of ſtorming the Place the ſame Day, but came to no firm Reſolution. But the Marquis, who with

A. D. 1521.

* This Piece of Fortification appears to be much the ſame with what is now called a *Counterſcarp*, which about this Time ſeems to have been in its Rudiments.

A. D. 1521. with the *Spaniſh* Infantry had all the Charge of the Battery, having ordered ſome Soldiers to look into the Breach, and obſerve, if it were poſſible, the Condition of the Works on the Inſide, theſe Fellows had no ſooner got upon the broken Wall than they began to call out aloud to the Army to approach and enter the Place. On this the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Foot ran in a tumultuous and diſorderly Manner to the Wall, which they reached, and had already begun to climb the Breach, upon which *Girolamo Guicciardini* Captain of Foot was killed, when the Generals taking the Alarm haſtened to the Place, and conſidering that an Aſſault, and much more a weak, diſorderly and tumultuous Attack, would be fruitleſs cauſed them to retire. This Accident either quaſhed the Deſign, or furniſhed Excuſes for not giving a regular Aſſault on that Day. On the next the Beſiegers employed themſelves in battering the intire Part of the Wall between the two Breaches, and a Flankwork raiſed on the Tower of the Gate at the inner Side. But a Report ſpreading itſelf in the Army that the *French* had fortified themſelves

ſelves with ſuch great Works that it would be very difficult to take the Place fairly by Storm, the Generals ſent two Soldiers of each Language to take a View of the Breaches, who either through Fear or Careleſsneſs, or, perhaps, as ſome doubted, ſuborned, reported that the Remains of the battered Wall were above five Braces in Height from the Ground, and that on the Inſide the Beſieged had drawn a deep Foſs, and caſt up ſuch other Works, that the Generals, doubting they had no other Way to become Maſters of the Place, reſolved on working of Mines at the Side of the broken Wall, and to cut the contiguous Wall with Chiſſels and Pickaxes, for filling up with the Ruins the Ditch which the Beſieged were ſaid to have digged on the Inſide, and to facilitate the Entrance. As ſoon as theſe Works ſhould be brought to Perfection, and two Pieces of Cannon, which were coming from *Mantoua*, added to the Artillery which was in the Army, another Battery was to be erected where the Wall, after extending itſelf in a right Line to a great Diſtance on the Right of the Gate, turns and forms an Angle, at which

A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. which Quarter when the Wall is thrown down the Defendants on the inner Side may be taken in Flank. Purſuant to this Reſolution, on that Side which had been battered, they began to work on a Trench, and a few Days after on another for ruining the Wall with Mines; but theſe Works proceeded but ſlowly, as well becauſe, *Proſpero* having formed different Deſigns, all the neceſſary Proviſions for theſe laborious Undertakings were not ready in the Camp, as becauſe the Ground where they digged proved difficult and hard.

Motions of *Lautrech.*

WHILE the Army was employed in carrying on theſe Works with an Intention not to ſtorm the Place till they were finiſhed, *Lautrech*, who had ſo long delayed to put himſelf in Motion on account of the Slowneſs of the Troops which were coming to his Army, having now got together the greateſt Part advanced five Miles more forwards, keeping along the River, having under his Command Five Hundred Lances, about Seven Thouſand *Swiſs*, Four Thouſand Foot with which M. *de St. Valier* had joined him that Day from

from *France*, and Four Hundred Men at Arms and Four Thouſand Foot under *Teodoro da Trivulzi* General of the *Venetians* and *Andrea Gritti* the Proveditor. This Army was attended by the Duke of *Urbino* and *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, the laſt as in the King's Service, though without Title or Regiment, and the Duke in Purſuit of ſuch Hopes as are common to Exiles. The General was in Expectation of Six Thouſand more *Swiſs*, granted him by the Cantons, and now on the Road, but according to their Cuſtom marching but ſlowly, and with many Difficulties. Had he been joined by them, he would not have refuſed to try the Fortune of a Battle for the Relief of *Parma*, for which End he reſted on the Road while he was continually ſolliciting and expecting their Arrival, taking care not to remove from the Banks of the *Po*. But being apprehenſive that in the mean time his Brother would come to an Agreement with the Enemy, he had ſent to excuſe his Slowneſs as occaſioned by his Expectation of a farther Reinforcement of *Swiſs*, which was now

A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. now not far off, and becauſe they who were with him had made a Difficulty of paſſing the *Po*. He aſſured him, however, that he would advance to ſome Poſt in the Neighbourhood of *Parma*, of which he would give him Notice by ſeveral Diſcharges of Cannon, and the next Day he would draw nearer the Enemy in order to engage them, ordering out ſome of his Horſe to ſkirmiſh, with an Intent to give him an Opportunity to ſally forth and join his Army. This was what *L'Eſcud* ſollicited him to undertake, aſſuring him that he could not hold out above two or three Days in that Part of the Town, and two Days more afterwards in the Part beyond the River, becauſe the Town was large and weak, and he had not above Two Hundred Foot left, for they had deſerted in great Multitudes; and the Men at Arms, who amounted to no more than Three Hundred Lances, and underwent the Burden of all the Fatigues, were incapable of making Reſiſtance if they ſhould be attacked on ſeveral Quarters. *Lautrech* after this, on the Day he had promiſed

promiſed to approach the Enemy, advanced to *Zibello*, a Caſtle leſs than twenty Miles diſtant from *Parma*, whence he detached Four Hundred Horſe who made an Excurſion up to the very Gates of the Town. *A. D.* 1521.

THE Beſiegers had now carried on their Mines home to the Wall, and afterwards turned them to a Place where they were to be ſprung. Count *Guido Rangone* with the *Italian* Foot, of which he was Captain General, began to plant the Artillery againſt the other Part of the Wall; but the *French* hearing the Noiſe and Buſtle with which they were managed had abandoned the *Codiponte* two Hours before, and retired in good Order, and without Tumult, together with their Artillery, on the other ſide of the River. This being known to the Beſiegers the next Morning by Break of Day they entered the Place, partly through the Opening in the Wall, partly by Scaling-ladders, and were moſt joyfully received by the *Parmeſans*, who were deſirous of returning under the Eccleſiaſtical Dominion. But their Joy was ſoon turned Progreſs of the Siege of *Parma*.

A. D. 1521. into bitter Lamentations, for they had their Houſes plundered as much as if they had been Enemies. And it is not doubted that, if the Cannon had been planted in the ſame Place ſome Days before, the *French* would in the ſame Manner have abandoned the *Codiponte*. The next Buſineſs was to open a Way through the Rubbiſh of the Gates that were thrown down, through which the Cannon being introduced were conveyed to the Bank of the River, and began to play on the Wall that makes the Bank on the other ſide; but it was by this time ſo late that but little Execution was expected to be done till the next Day. But on the ſame Day *Lautrech* came and encamped on the River *Taro*, ſeven Miles from *Parma*, ſome imagining that he intended to hazard a Battle, others perſuading themſelves that he came to concert Meaſures with his Brother, who in conſequence, when he could hold out no longer, was to come forth one Night out of *Parma* with all his Troops, and be received by the *French* Army; or elſe, if he choſe to come to an Agreement with the Enemy, might obtain Leave to march out of *Parma*

ma with Safety to himſelf and all his Soldiers, and without any Obligation. And indeed a Treaty had by Means of the Marquis been ſet on Foot ſome Days before with *Federigo da Bozzolo*, who in viſiting the Works had been wounded with a Muſket Ball in the Shoulder; but the Negotiation had not proceeded ſo far as to afford any certain Diſcovery of the real Intentions of *L'Eſcud*. The Truth is, as appeared on good Evidence afterwards, that *Lautrech* had no Mind to fight before he was joined by the *Swiſs*; for though he was ſomewhat ſuperior in Number, and in the Goodneſs of his Men at Arms, and was better provided with Artillery, his Infantry was not to be compared with that of the Enemy's Army, in which the Foot, by a juſt Computation, amounted to Nine Thouſand *Germans* and *Spaniards*, Two Thouſand *Swiſs*, and above Four Thouſand *Italians*. A. D. 1521.

BUT let every one here obſerve on what trifling Accidents depend Things of the greateſt Moment in Wars. It happened very opportunely the Night after the

A. D. 1521.

Beſiegers alarmed by the Duke of *Ferrara*.

Army had entered the *Codiponte* that Advices came from *Modena* and *Bologna* that *Alfonſo da Eſte* had marched out of *Ferrara* with an Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred light Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot, among which were a Thouſand *Corſicans* and *Italians* ſent him by *Lautrech*, and with Twelve Pieces of Cannon, and had ſurpriſed the Caſtles of *Finale* and *S. Felice*, and it was apprehended that he would make further Advances. This News gave no ſmall Uneaſineſs to the Generals, who, though they knew long before the Inſtances made to the Duke by the *French*, and that there was Reaſon to be apprehenſive of ſuch a Movement, had yet taken no Care to make ſuch Proviſions in *Modena* as ſhould be ſufficient in ſuch a Caſe for the Security of that City. For *Proſpero*, who had always obſtinately defended the contrary Opinion, had never conſented that any Troops ſhould be ſent from the Army to *Modena*, either becauſe he put too much Faith in the Duke, who was his very good Friend, and with whom alſo he had, by Order of the Pope, ſet on Foot a Treaty for an Accommodation; or becauſe he was unwilling

unwilling to weaken the Army by Detachments at a Time when the Approach of the Enemy was apprehended, eſpecially as he was by Nature inclined to proceed in all his Meaſures with Caution and Security, and was therefore deſirous of having always a Superiority of Forces; or becauſe, if he had other private Ends, he was not diſpleaſed with the preſent Opportunity. But the Night in which the News arrived the Generals aſſembled in Haſte, and it was reſolved that Count *Guido Rangone* ſhould immediately ſet out on his March to *Modena* with Two Hundred light Horſe, and Eight Hundred Foot, which in Conjunction with Seven Hundred Foot already in the Place, were thought more than ſufficient to reſiſt the Forces of *Alfonſo*. A. D. 1521.

When this Expedition was ordered there remained ſeveral Hours of Night, and Advice was received a little before that *Lautrech* was the preceding Evening encamped upon the *Taro*. But this Intelligence mixed Truth with Falſhood, for it imported that the *Swiſs* had the ſame Day

A. D. 1521. joined the *French*, which was falſe; nor was there any Notice that thoſe *Swiſs* who were in the *French* Army had not promiſed *Lautrech* after many and earneſt Intreaties, to advance any farther than the *Taro*.

Conference of the Generals. The Generals then being aſſembled on the other Occaſion above related, and Daylight not yet appearing, and there being no Opportunity nor Neceſſity for them to engage themſelves ſeparately in any other Buſineſs, took Occaſion to enter into Diſcourſe, rather to paſs away the Time, and not as debating in Council, on the State to which Affairs would probably be reduced by the Approach of *Lautrech*. In this free Converſation *Proſpero*, the Marquis of *Peſcara*, and *Vitello* had much Talk together on the Subject, the Reſult of which, it ſeems, was in Subſtance as follows: That it would be difficult to take *Parma* if a Battery were not alſo erected on the other Side of the City; for though the Wall which they had begun to batter the Day before ſhould be opened, there remained no ſmall Aſcent from the Bed of the River to its Brink, nor could it be attempted without great Danger, becauſe the Artillery and ſmall Arms

Arms diſpoſed on the three Bridges over the River and in the contiguous Houſes would gall the Aſſailants in Flank. It was ſaid that the Neighbourhood of *Lautrech*, if he ſhould come and encamp near them in ſome Place towards the *Po*, even though he ſhould ſhun all Occaſions of coming to a Battle, would yet render an Aſſault upon the Town extremely dangerous; and that it ought to be conſidered that many of the Foot were gone off with the Plunder they had taken in the Sack of the *Codiponte*, and that others were more intent on ſecuring their Booty, than diſpoſed to fight; and that their preſent Situation was attended with many Difficulties and Inconveniencies as well as Danger, becauſe it would be neceſſary every Day to ſend out very numerous Eſcorts not only for Security of the Foragers, but alſo of the Money and Proviſions, which daily arrived after fetching a very long Compaſs about the Walls of *Parma*; and it might happen that when theſe Troops were abroad the reſt of the Forces in the Camp might be attacked at once by the *French* Army without, and by the Gar- A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. riſon within the Place. It was alſo alledged that if the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhould augment his Forces it would be neceſſary to make further Detachments from the Camp for the Security of *Modena* and *Reggio*, and that by making Excurſions only with thoſe Troops which he had he would greatly diſtreſs their Convoys of Proviſions, which would oblige them to raiſe the Siege, and this perhaps, when they were reduced to ſuch Straits, could not be done without Danger. Theſe Reaſonings, which ſhewed an Inclination to raiſe the Siege, were not, however, urged in ſuch a Manner that any one could be ſaid to have diſcovered by his Diſcourſe his Opinion or Advice for ſuch a Step. At laſt, after a long Converſation on the Subject, the Marquis of *Peſcara*, imagining that he had comprehended the Inclinations of the others, ſpake thus: "I am ſenſible, ſays he, that we are all of the ſame Opinion, but each of us, adviſing only with himſelf, keeps Silence, expecting that another ſhould make himſelf the Author of it, but I ſhall be under no Conſtraint in this Reſpect. My Opinion then is that our Stay about

about *Parma* is attended with Danger, and no Hopes of Succeſs, and that we have no Way to chuſe but to break up and be gone as the leſſer Evil." " The Marquis, ſays *Proſpero*, has ſpoken no more than what I intended to ſay myſelf if he had not anticipated me." *Vitello* declared himſelf of the ſame Opinion. But as for *Antonio da Leva* he approved of their Removal from thence, but propoſed to their Conſideration whether it were not beſt for them to go and attack *Lautrech*. But to this it was replied, that the Enemy could not be forced to fight without great Difficulty, and to ſtay long there would be impoſſible, becauſe the Difficulties which were conſidered as attendant on their remaining before *Parma* would become much greater; and it might eaſily happen for the Two Thouſand *Swiſs* to refuſe to follow them, for, beſides the Orders which they had many Days before received from the Cantons to quit the Service of the Pope, it was not probable that they could be diſpoſed to fight againſt an Army in which were ſuch Numbers of the ſame Nation; nor could it be denied that on account of the

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A. D. 1521. the Plunder made the Day before it was the more difficult to put the diſordered Infantry in Motion. This Counſel therefore being rejected, the Generals ſeemed to be all unanimous for raiſing the Siege. But *Proſpero* and *Peſcara* withdrawing together in private, after a long Conference, aſked the Commiſſary what he thought the Pope would ſay of them if they decamped from *Parma:* And the Commiſſary ſaying to the Marquis "Why can't we take *Parma* to-day, as ye aſſured me but laſt Evening?" the Marquis replied in *Spaniſh*, "Neither to-day nor to-morrow, nor after to-morrow." The Commiſſary then replied, that the Pope would doubtleſs be extremely diſturbed at ſuch a Step, becauſe it would totally deprive him of Hopes of the Victory; but that the Point to be conſidered in this Reſolution conſiſted in the Truth or Falſehood of Facts taken by them for granted. For if their Continuance in the preſent Station were attended with Danger, and deſtitute of Hope, it would doubtleſs be highly imprudent not to remove; but if it ſhould be found otherwiſe, their Decampment would vaſtly diſorder and prejudice

judice their Affairs. They would do well therefore to conſider maturely the State of the Army, and the Importance of Things, and by weighing Hope with Danger diſcover which was greater. To this Admonition *Proſpero* and the Marquis replying that all the Rules of War directed them to retire, the Commiſſary would not preſume to ſet himſelf in Opppoſition to Generals of ſuch great Authority, and ſo it was reſolved to decamp the ſame Day, and the Artillery was immediately drawn off from the Wall. But as ſoon as this Reſolution was publiſhed through the Camp, it was blamed as proceeding from too much Timidity by all thoſe who had not aſſiſted at the Debate; ſo that the Commiſſary and *Morone* joining their Heads together endeavoured to remove *Proſpero* from this Determination, who did not ſhew himſelf averſe from taking the Affair under a ſecond Conſideration, on the contrary ſaying, in very laudable Words, and the more to be valued in proportion to the Dignity and Wiſdom of the Speaker, that he was not ſo diſpoſed by Nature as to be aſhamed to change his Opinion when better

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A. D. 1521. better Reaſons were offered him, he then ſummoned together again the ſame Perſons who had been preſent at paſſing the Reſolution. But the Marquis of *Peſcara* being buſied in removing the Artillery, and abhorring to alter the firſt Concluſion, refuſed to come, ſo that the Affair remaining perplexed rather than reſolved, every one retired, and ſet about executing what had at firſt been determined.

Siege of *Parma* raiſed.

THUS on the ſame Day, which was the Twelfth of the Siege, the Army returned to their Camp at *San Lazaro*, not without Danger of a very great Diſorder in their Decampment; for the *German* Foot, demanding ſuch unreaſonable Conditions in Relation to their Pay that they could not be granted, refuſed to follow the Army, and having broken their old Officers had created for their General one of themſelves, the Author of this Sedition, and it was feared that they would make an Agreement with the *French*; at laſt however after the Army was departed, contrary to all Expectation, they changed their Minds, and followed the reſt of the Troops.

Troops. In a State of ſuch Confuſion, while the Army was full of Terror from ſo ſudden a Decampment, and by the Tumult of the *Germans*, it is not doubted that if *Lautrech* had come upon them unexpectedly, he might very eaſily have put them to Flight. *A. D.* 1521.

THIS Reſolution wonderfully afflicted the Pope, who expected to hear that his Troops had entered *Parma*, and now thought himſelf unaccountably and contrary to all Reaſon deprived of all Hopes of Victory. He found himſelf embarked on a very deep Sea, and ready to ſink under a very heavy Load, for except the Men at Arms and the *Spaniſh* Infantry, the whole Expence of the War in general was ſupported by himſelf, and, what was worſe, he was in Suſpicion of the Faith of the *Cæſarean* Generals. Many others alſo concurred with him in his Suſpicions, perſuading themſelves that the Raiſing the Siege of *Parma* was not occaſioned by Fear, but owing to Artifice and a Jealouſy which thoſe Commanders had conceived that the Pontiff, as ſoon as he had re- Reflections on the Conduct of that Enterpriſe

A. D. 1521. recovered *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which was all that appertained to him of the State of *Milan*, would grow cool and remiſs in the Proſecution of the War, and no longer chuſe to be at ſuch vaſt Expences and Trouble for the Intereſts of others. And what gave the Pontiff juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion was his knowing how ſlowly the Army had proceeded to lay Siege to *Parma*, which was at length opened and carried on in a wrong Place; that after they had taken the leſſer Part of the Town, they had ſtudiouſly raiſed the ſame Difficulties in taking the other; he had obſerved their ſlow and dilatory Manner of managing the Siege, as if it were done on Purpoſe to give Time to the *French* to come and relieve the Place; and laſtly, that when they were in Poſſeſſion of Part of the Town, at the bare Name of *Lautrech*, tho' with an inferior Army, they had ſhamefully abandoned it. Some there were who doubted that, without the Knowledge of *Proſpero*, the whole Management was directed by the Contrivance of the Marquiſs of *Peſcara* out of Envy to the other's Glory, and a De-

ſign

ſign to do all that lay in his Power to leſſen it. But perhaps after all the Truth lay on the Side of thoſe who believed that the whole Affair had been conducted with Sincerity, and that the Generals had no other Motive for their Retreat than the Fear they had conceived from the Approach of *Lautrech*, being in a great meaſure deceived by their firſt Advices of his Force, which magnified it much beyond what was true. Certain it is that the *French* Generals were moſt of all amazed at this Step, for they had very ſmall Hopes of preſerving *Parma*, ſince the *Swiſs*, regulating their Conduct rather according to their own Nature than in compliance with the Neceſſities of thoſe who paid them, advanced forwards with a very ſlow Pace. Wherefore many of them did not aſcribe the Departure of the Enemy to Fear, but, by another Conſtruction, imagined rather that *Proſpero*, as a very experienced General, knowing the great Diſorders into which Armies are thrown by the Saccage of Cities, and conſidering that it would be very difficult to prevent the Soldiers from plundering

A. D. 1521.

Parma,

A. D. 1521. *Parma*, had judged it very dangerous to take the Place in ſo near a Neighbourhood of the Enemy.

Motions of the Armies.

WHATEVER was the true Cauſe of this Event, *Lautrech*, after providing *Parma* with freſh Troops, encamped at *Fontanella*, from whence three Days after he ſent a Detachment to take *Roccabianca*, a Caſtle in the *Parmeſan* near the *Po*, which after ſtanding a Battery for ſome Time was, in Deſpair of Relief, together with the Town ſurrendered by *Orlando Palavicino*, Lord of the Place, on condition of freely marching away. The Army after this extended itſelf between *San Secondo* and the *Faro* with a Deſign to regulate its Motions according to the Progreſs of the Enemy, being greatly encouraged, partly by the Defence of *Parma*, and partly by the Arrival of a new Body of *Swiſs* at *Cremona*. The Coming of theſe Troops, tho', by Orders from *Lautrech*, they had halted at *Cremona*, was the Cauſe that the Enemies Army not thinking themſelves ſafe in their Camp at *San Lazzaro*, retired to the River *Lenza* on

on the Side towards *Reggio*, with an Intention to remove to a greater Diſtance if the *French* advanced forwards, and they would have retreated much farther without ſo much as expecting the Motions of *Lautrech*, if the Complaints of the Pontiff and of *Cæſar*'s Agents, and the Diſgrace which they had ſenſibly incurred with the whole Army had not retained them. In theſe Stations the Armies continued for many Days, *Lautrech* however very frequently ſending out his Horſe and the Garriſon of *Parma*, who made Incurſions by the Way of the Mountains as far as *Reggio*, with no ſmall Moleſtation to the Convoys of Proviſions with which the Enemy's Camp was ſupplied from *Reggio*, and not much to the Commendation of *Proſpero*, who was by Nature very ſlow in giving Orders for Excurſions of the light Horſe, or for making any other Movement how ſmall ſoever. *A. D.* 1521.

Meziers beſieged in vain by *Cæſar*.

THE Affairs of *Cæſar* beyond the Mountains were attended with no better Succeſs; for after he had entered the Dominions of the King of *France* on the

A. D. 1521. Side of *Flanders* with a potent Army, and laid Siege to *Meziers* with great Hopes of taking it, he found it more difficult to become Maſter of it than he expected, and powerful Succours arriving from the King he was conſtrained to retire not without very great Danger of a Defeat.

Pope and *Cæſar* reſolve on proſecuting the War.

But in *Italy* the Projects of War had ſuffered no Interruption from the ill Succeſs; for the Enemies of the *French* reſolving to concern themſelves no more about the Acquiſition of *Parma* or any other Towns, determined to penetrate further into the Dutchy of *Milan*, by help of an Augmentation of their Forces with *Italian* Foot to the Number of Six Thouſand, which they were continually liſting. And they were encouraged to proceed with the greater Boldneſs to this Reſolution, from the Hopes of a new Deſcent of Twelve Thouſand *Swiſs* in the Pay of the Pontiff. Theſe Troops the Cardinal of *Sion*, who openly acted as Sollicitor in the Diets againſt the *French*, *Ennio* Biſhop of *Veruli*, who was the Apoſtolic Nuncio, and the Ambaſſadors of

of *Cæſar*, had at firſt refuſed, becauſe they were to be hired only for the Defence of the State of the Church, and with expreſs Orders not to act offenſively againſt the Dominions of the King of *France*, but at laſt accepted of them on theſe Conditions, ſince they were not to be obtained otherwiſe, in Hopes that ſoon after their Deſcent into *Italy*, by means of their Avarice and Inconſtancy, and by corrupting and otherwiſe tampering with their Leaders, they might be induced to act with the Army againſt the Dutchy of *Milan*. Nor in this Reſolution to advance forwards was there much Occaſion for doubting to which Quarter they ſhould direct their Courſe; for in continuing the War on this Side the River *Po* there manifeſtly appeared very great Difficulties. There were no Hopes of taking *Parma*, and if they left that City behind them it would be neceſſary to go and attack the Enemy, an Attempt evidently pernicious, ſince they were encamped in a ſtrong Place, and their Camp was defended with a numerous Artillery, properly diſpoſed. To poſt themſelves between

A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. *Parma* and the Enemy's Army, or to proceed further without fighting, was by no means adviſable, for by keeping their Station between the Enemy's Camp and theſe Towns in their Poſſeſſion, they would in a very few Days be diſtreſſed for Want of Proviſions, which could not be procured from the hoſtile Country, nor conveyed from any great Diſtance. Theſe Difficulties would be avoided by transferring the War beyond the *Po*, for in that Country, naturally plentiful, and not damaged by the Wars, they might be confident of finding Plenty of Victuals; and they would meet with no Obſtacle till they came to the *Adda*, for leaving *Cremona* on the left, and advancing to the *Oglio*, they would light on no Towns capable of making Reſiſtance. They were perſuaded alſo that the *Venetian* Senate would not expoſe their own Troops to the Fortune of a Battle for the Intereſts of others, and believed that the *French* would not venture to oppoſe them but at the Paſſage of the *Adda*; and, what is more, many were in Hopes that when the Army approached the Borders of the *Venetians*, that

that the Senate would recall the greater Part of their Forces from the Aſſiſtance of the *French* for the Security of their own Dominions; and beſides all theſe Advantages it highly deſerved Regard that their paſſing beyond the *Po* was extremely convenient for effecting their Conjunction with the *Swiſs*. *A. D.* 1521.

Mountain of *Modena* reduced.

IN the mean time, while Preparation was made of many Neceſſaries for this new Reſolution, as Artillery, Ammunition, Pioneers, Pontons, and Victuals, and while Levies were making of *Italian* Foot in *Tuſcany* and *Romagna*, Count *Guido Rangone*, by Orders from the Pontiff, with Part of the new liſted Foot, and the Troops which he had about him, marched againſt the Mountain of *Modena*, which, while *Modena* was ſubject to *Cæſar*, and afterwards when it was under the Dominion of the Church, had never acknowledged any other Lord than the Duke of *Ferrara*. But when the Inhabitants of the Mountain had Intelligence of this March, and that at the ſame time a good Body of *Tuſcan* Militia was in Motion towards them, they

A. D. 1521. would not ſtay to be attacked, but declared for the Church.

AT the ſame time *Bonifacio* Biſhop of *Aleſſandria*, Son of the late *Franceſco Bernardino Viſconti*, fled from *Milan*, on the Diſcovery of a Plot which had been carrying on againſt the *French*. There came to Light alſo another Plot in *Cremona* under the Management of *Niccolo Varolo*, one of the principal Exiles of that City, for which ſome *Cremoneſe* who were privy to it ſuffered due Puniſhment. Nor do I know which at this Time was greater, either the ill Fortune, or the Temerity and Imprudence of the Exiles of the Dutchy of *Milan*, who were very numerous in the Army, for they were not only unſucceſsful in all their Undertakings, but while they were intent on plundering the whole Country, they obſtructed the Conveyance of Proviſions, without making Amends for all the Miſchief they did (I always except *Morone)* by an extraordinary Diligence, or with an Intelligence of Spies; nay, when *Proſpero* had long before ordered them out towards *Piacenza*, after doing vaſt Damages

Ill Conduct of the *Milaneſe* Exiles

Damages to Friends as well as Foes, a Quarrel aroſe among themſelves about dividing the Prey, in which *Pietro Scotto* one of their Chiefs, was murdered by *Eſtor Viſconti* and ſome others. *A. D.* 1521.

PROSPERO at this Time made an Attempt to burn the Boats of the *French* Bridge, which was brought up and laid over the River near *Cremona*, and was but ſlenderly guarded, that he might gain the more Time for proceeding forwards while *Lautrech* was employed in collecting of Boats neceſſary for refitting the Bridge. But it happened from the Length of the Way that *Giovanni de' Medici*, who was order'd for that Purpoſe with Two Hundred light Horſe, and Three Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, could not arrive at the Place before Daylight, ſo that the Watermen being alarmed by the Cries of the Peaſants drew off the Boats into the Middle of the *Po*, ſecure of being moleſted by the Enemy poſted on the Bank. Unſucceſsful Attempt of *Proſpero*.

AT laſt all the neceſſary Preparations being made for paſſing the *Po*, the Army

A. D. 1521. marched by *Breſſelle*, where a Bridge of Boats had been laid; but before they paſſed, as a Neceſſity of thinking on Self-Defence is inſeparable from Deſigns of acting offenſively againſt others, *Vitello Vitelli* with an Hundred and Fifty Men at Arms, as many light Horſe, and Two Thouſand Foot on the *Florentine* Eſtabliſhment, was detached to take care of the Towns of the Church which they left behind. Thither alſo repaired the Biſhop of *Piſtoia* with the Two Thouſand *Swiſs*, for it was not thought ſafe to lead them againſt the *French*, who had in their Service ſo many Troops of the ſame Nation granted them by Decree, and with the public Banners; and the rather becauſe they were as yet uncertain of the Reſolution of the new *Swiſs*, who were aſſembled at *Coira*, and certain Advice was expected every Hour that they had put themſelves in Motion. The Biſhop and *Vitello* had it in Charge not only to defend *Modena* and the other Towns of the Church from any Attempts that might be made upon them, but alſo to act offenſively againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, who aſſuming to himſelf the Glory of

Army of the League marches towards *Milan*.

of delivering *Parma* had ſeized on *Finale* and *San Felice*, but proceeded no further, becauſe the Pope, whoſe Hatred was increaſed by this Inſult, proſecuted him with Cenſures and Eccleſiaſtical Monitories, ſo far as to deprive him of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*. A. D. 1521.

THE Army paſſed the *Po* on the Firſt of *October*, and went and encamped at *Caſal Maggiore*, having ſpent in paſſing not only the whole Day but good Part of the following Night, occaſioned by the incredible Multitude of uſeleſs Attendants, and the vaſt Baggage, the Generals being greatly deceived in their Judgment, who had perſuaded themſelves that the whole Army with all that belonged to it would be paſſed by Noon. Through the Wearineſs of the hindmoſt, and the Darkneſs of the Night, Part of the Artillery, great Quantities of Ammunition, and a very conſiderable Number of Soldiers halted, and remained during the Night diſperſed between the *Po* and *Caſal Maggiore*, expoſed a Prey to any ſmall Number of the Enemy which ſhould happen to attack them. And Paſſes the *Po*.

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A. D. 1521. it was not doubted that if *Lautrech*, who had aſſembled all the *Swiſs*, and came to encamp at *Colorno* on the ſame Day that his Adverſaries encamped at *Breſſelle*, had on the Day in which they paſſed marched his Army over his Bridge to *Caſal Maggiore* diſtant three Miles from *Colorno*, or, as *Colorno* is but ſix Miles diſtant from *Breſſelle*, had at Noon attacked that Part of the Army which had not paſſed the River, he would have obtained ſome ſignal Advantage. But infinite Opportunities are loſt in Wars, becauſe Generals are not always appriſed of the Diſorders and Difficulties that befall the Enemy.

Pope's Legate arrives at the Camp.

At *Caſal Maggiore* arrived the ſame Night the Cardinal *de' Medici* with the Pope's Commiſſion as Legate of the Army. For though his Holineſs had already, but very ſecretly, begun to lend an Ear to the Ambaſſador of the King of *France*, yet fearing that the ill Succeſs, and the leaving upon him in a manner the whole Burden of the War, might give Cauſe to *Cæſar*, or to his Miniſters to ſuſpect that, in order to extricate himſelf from ſo many Difficulties

culties and Dangers, he might turn his Mind on forming new Schemes and taking other Meaſures, he imagined that nothing could render them ſo ſecure of his Intentions, and of Conſequence induce them to purſue the War with the greater Ardor, as the Preſence of a Cardinal, whoſe Perſon, both on account of his being the next Relation by Blood to the Pontiff, and becauſe, though his conſtant Reſidence was in *Florence*, no Buſineſs of Importance belonging to the Pontificate was diſpatched without his Participation, carried with it in a manner the very ſame Authority as the Perſon of the Pontiff himſelf. His Preſence alſo was of Service for ſupporting the declined Reputation of the Enterpriſe, and the Awe of ſo great a Perſonage mightily contributed to procure a greater Unanimity in the Counſels and Reſolutions of the Generals. For the Diſagreement betwen *Proſpero Colonna* and the Marquis of *Peſcara* became every Day more evident, and was increaſed not only on other Accounts, but becauſe the Marquis, after raiſing the Siege of *Parma*, deſirous of transferring the Infamy of that Reſolution from himſelf

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on

A. D. 1521. on others, had written to *Rome* that it had been reſolved to decamp without his Advice or Knowledge.

Progreſs of the Army.

FROM *Caſal Maggiore*, after reſting a Day, the Army put itſelf on its March through the *Cremoneſe* for the Bank of the River *Oglio*, on which it arrived in four Encampments, without meeting in the mean time with any Accident of Moment, except that while they took up their Quarters at a Country Place called *la Corte de' Frati* a very great Quarrel aroſe between the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Foot, in which the *Spaniards*, rather by knowing how to uſe the Opportunity preſented them by the Occaſion, than by Valour, killed many of the others; but the Fray was ſoon extinguiſhed by the Diligence and Authority of the Generals: And the Day before *Giovanni de' Medici* making an Excurſion towards the Enemy, who had paſſed the *Po* higher up towards *Cremona* on the ſame Day that the others had poſted themſelves at *Caſal Maggiore*, routed the *Venetian* Stradiotti commanded by *Mercurio*, in whoſe Company were alſo ſome *French* Horſe, among

among whom was taken Priſoner Don *Luigi Gaetano* Son of the Duke of *Trajetto*, tho' his State was in the Poſſeſſion of *Proſpero Colonna*. A. D. 1521.

But while the Army encamped on the River *Oglio*, Fortune, caſting her Smiles on the Cauſe of the Pontiff and *Cæſar*, defeated the unlucky Counſel of the Generals, who had reſolved to march from *Corte de' Frati*, and to encamp with the Army at the Village of *Bordellano* at the Diſtance only of eight Miles on the ſame River. But as it was impracticable, on account of the Difficulty of the Road, to convey thither the Artillery, it was neceſſary to halt half way, at the Town of *Rebecca*, divided from *Pontevico*, a Town of the *Venetians*, only by the River *Oglio*. While they were encamped in this Place they received Intelligence that *Lautrech*, followed by the *Venetian* Troops, having left his heavy Baggage at *Cremona*, was arrived the ſame Day at *San Martino* five Miles diſtant from them, reſolved if the Enemies proceeded forwards to engage them the next Day in the Field. Theſe Advices mightily

Ruinous Meaſure luckily prevented

A. D. 1521. mightily diſturbed the Minds of the Cardinal *de' Medici* and the Generals, becauſe the *Venetian* Senate when they joined their Troops to the Army of *Lautrech* had ſignified this their Reſolution to the Pope in ſuch Terms as if they ſeemed not to put themſelves in Motion from a Deſire that the King of *France* ſhould get the Victory, but that he might have no juſt Cauſe to charge them with not obſerving the Confederacy: Whence they at firſt perſuaded themſelves, and the Coming of the Cardinal had confirmed them in the Opinion, that *Andrea Gritti* had received ſecret Orders not to permit thoſe Troops to fight. As this Suppoſition now appeared falſe it was neceſſary for them to depart from their firſt Reſolution, becauſe none could deny that the Enemy's Army was ſuperior in Force, for it was very ſtrong in Cavalry, and its Infantry conſiſted of Seven Thouſand *French* and *Italians* and Ten Thouſand *Swiſs*. But in the Army of the Pontiff and *Cæſar*, the Number of *Germans* was ſo greatly diminiſhed, and in ſome meaſure that of the *Spaniards*, that they hardly amounted to the Number of Seven Thouſand,

Thouſand, and as to the Six Thouſand *Italians*, becauſe they were for the moſt Part but new Levies, they were more conſiderable for their Number than their Goodneſs. *A. D.* 1521.

It was the Reſolution therefore of *Proſpero* and the other Commanders to wait in that Place for the Coming of the *Swiſs*, who, as they were already in Motion, and becauſe the Cardinal of *Sion*, who was their Leader, had ſent Advice that they ſhould make no Stop in any Place, were expected to arrive in three or four Days at fartheſt. The next Morning therefore they reduced their Camp, which had been pitched in a kind of Hurry the Evening before, into a better Form, giving themſelves no Concern that it might be ſorely annoyed by the Artillery of the oppoſite Town of *Pontevico*, becauſe the Cardinal *de' Medici*, conformably to his firſt Notions, had aſſured himſelf that the *Venetians*, who were under no other Obligations to the King of *France* than to grant him Troops for the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*, would never conſent that the Army

Army of the League encamps at *Rebecca*

A. D. 1521. Army of the Church and *Cæſar* ſhould receive any Moleſtation from their Towns. To the Reſolution of waiting for the *Swiſs* at *Rebecca* manifeſtly preſented itſelf in Oppoſition the Difficulty of ſupplying the Camp with Proviſions, ſince thoſe which were brought along with the Army could not be ſufficient for many Days; and from the Terror of the Ravages committed eſpecially by the *Milaneſe* Exiles, and the general Flight of the Peaſants, the freſh Supplies arrived but in very ſmall Quantities, and even thoſe continually diminiſhed.

Advice of *Guicciardini.* Wherefore the Commiſſary *Guicciardini* had repreſented that as it was impoſſible for them to ſupport themſelves in that Place for Want of Victuals, and that the Arrival of the *Swiſs* might happen from many Cauſes to be delayed, it would perhaps be more to their Advantage to remain no longer in their preſent Situation, but to retire five or ſix Miles back along the ſame River to the Borders of the *Mantouan*, where having behind them a friendly Country they could never fail of Proviſions;

viſions; and that this Motion, which at preſent might be made with Security, would by the Approach of the Enemy perhaps become impracticable without very great Danger. This Advice would have reliſhed well enough with the Generals, had not the Diſgrace, ſo freſh in Memory, of their Retreat from *Parma* reſtrained every one from ſpeaking his Mind freely. They were alſo under ſome Influence from their Hopes of the ſpeedy Arrival of the *Swiſs*, who might make their Deſcent in five or ſix Days from *Coira* into the Territory of *Bergamo*, whence they had a very ſhort March to take for joining the Army. It being thus determined to wait their Arrival at *Rebecca*, Proviſion of Meal which had been brought with the Army was diſtributed by Meaſure to every Company in the Camp. And as there were no portable Ovens in the Army, and the Houſes that had Ovens were taken up with quartering Soldiers, every Man baked for himſelf what fell to his Share upon hot Coals; which Inconvenience, conſidering alſo that the Meal was but ſparingly diſtributed, was the Occaſion that many of

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A. D. 1521. the *Italian* Foot, though there was Plenty of Wine and Fleſh, went off privately.

Overſight of *Lautrech.*

But on the third Day *Lautrech*, who had poſted himſelf at *Bordellano*, ſent Part of his Artillery, which had paſſed the River at Noon, to *Pontevico*, with the Conſent of the *Venetian* Proveditor, tho' he pretended the contrary, and on the ſame Day, though it was near Night, began to fire on the Enemy's Camp; which ſo alarmed their Generals, that finding themſelves in moſt manifeſt Danger, tho' they might have removed to a Place under Covert of ſome little Hills, yet being terrified by the Want of Proviſions, and their Fears increaſed by the Slowneſs of the *Swiſs*, the next Morning before Break of Day they broke up in great Silence without Sound of Drum or Trumpet, and putting the Carriages before the Troops, proceeded in very good Order, alike prepared to march or to fight, till they arrived at *Gabbioneta*, a Town five Miles diſtant on the Borders of the *Mantouan*, where they encamped, all acknowledging that they had eſcaped a very great Danger, partly

partly by the Kindneſs of Fortune, and partly through the Imprudence of the Enemy. For it is certain that if they had not ſtopped at *Rebecca* on the Day they had appointed to go to *Bordellano*, they would have had little or no Hopes of ſaving themſelves. For the ſame or greater Neceſſities would have conſtrained them to retire, and the Retreat being longer, and from an Enemy at a nearer Diſtance, muſt have been extremely hazardous. It is no leſs certain alſo that *Lautrech* would have obtained an undoubted Victory if, on the ſame Day that he ſent his Artillery to *Pontevico*, he had gone, as many, and among others the *Swiſs* Officers, adviſed him, and poſted himſelf near the Enemy, who, on account of his Vicinity, would have found it impracticable to remove with Security, ſince they would have been prevented, eſpecially by the Annoyance which they muſt receive by the Cannon of *Pontevico*, from ranging themſelves in Order. Nor was it poſſible for them to remain above three or four Days in the Place where they had poſted themſelves without periſhing with Hunger. But while, according to his

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A. D. 1521. own Nature, he deſpiſed the Counſels of all others, and firſt gave Warning to the Enemies of the imminent Danger that threatened them, he gave them a fair Opportunity to prevent the Execution of his Menaces by a ſudden Departure. It was not therefore without Reaſon that the *Swiſs* Officers, after ſurveying the Situation of the Place, ſaid to *Lautrech*, who had made a Motion to appruach the Enemy, and finding them gone was come to encamp at *Rebecca*, that they deſerved the Pay which is given to conquering Soldiers after winning a Battle, becauſe it was none of their Fault that he had not obtained a Victory.

At *Gabbioneta* the Army of the League reſted many Days in a Camp excellently fortified; but as the Generals ſaw that the Arrival of the *Swiſs* was continually prolonged, and were under Apprehenſions from the Vicinity of the *French* Army, which was much ſtronger than their own, and threatened to attack them, they paſſed the *Oglio*, and went and encamped at *Oſtiano*, a Caſtle of *Federigo da Bozzolo*, with

with an Intention not to leave that Poſt till the Arrival of the *Swiſs*. This Reſolution, which was prudently taken, was alſo accompanied with Fortune, for the Army would have received great Damage in the Camp at *Gabbioneta*, by the very low Situation of the Place, and the heavy Rains which fell immediately after the Decampment. A. D. 1521.

BUT while the Armies lay thus idle within their Trenches, one at *Oſtiano*, and the other at *Rebecca*, the Biſhop of *Piſtoia* and *Vitello* with a Body of *Swiſs* and *Italian* Foot attacked the Troops of the Duke of *Ferrara* in their Entrenchments at *Finale*, and tho' they were poſted in a Place ſtrong by Nature, and well fortified by Art, yet the *Swiſs* advancing with the greateſt Fierceneſs to meet the Danger, routed and put them to Flight, with the Loſs of many killed on the Spot, and among them, bravely fighting, the Chevalier *Cavriana*. The Duke of *Ferrara*, who was at *Bondino*, was ſo greatly terrified at this Defeat, that he immediately abandoned that Caſtle, and fled to *Ferrara*, Duke of *Ferrara*

A. D. 1521. *rara*, uſing the ſame Expedition in drawing off the Boats over which he had laid a Bridge at the ſame Place, that his Enemies might not be able to follow him.

Swiſs deſcend into Italy. In the mean time the *Swiſs* were deſcended into the Territory of *Bergamo*, but were ſo full of Diſſenſions, and raiſed ſo many Difficulties, as retarded their Progreſs, having expreſſly refuſed to turn their Courſe for attacking the Dutchy of *Milan*, in Compliance with the earneſt Sollicitations of the Cardinal of *Sion*, and of the Agents of the Pontiff and *Cæſar*. They even made ſome Difficulty of marching to join the Army which expected them at *Oſtiano*, becauſe it was prepared to proceed offenſively againſt the King of *France*, offering to march to any Place which the Pope ſhould think fit in the State of the Church, for whoſe Defence they had enter'd into Pay; and yet, according to the barbarous Conſtruction which they frequently put upon Things, conſenting to march and attack *Parma* and *Piacenza*, as Cities manifeſtly appertaining to tne Church, or at leaſt to which the King of *France* had no

no clear Right and Title. They demanded alſo, before they would put themſelves in Motion, a Detachment of Three Hundred light Horſe from the Army, to aſſiſt them in collecting Supplies of Proviſions in the Country through which they were to paſs. At laſt on the Arrival of theſe Horſe, which had made their Way through the *Venetian* Territories with all the Suddenneſs and Speed imaginable, they ſet out on their March, directing their Courſe to ſome Place in the Neighbourhood of the Army, where they might with the more Convenience conſult together and reſolve on their future Operations, having by the Way put to Flight ſome *French* and *Venetian* Troops; which had poſted themſelves at *Pontoglio* or the Lake of *Eupilo* in order to prevent their Paſſage. As ſoon as they were approached near the Army Inſtances began to be made to diſpoſe them to join with the reſt againſt the *French*, repeated Meſſages and Embaſſies paſſing to and fro, and the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, by Commiſſion of the Cardinal *de Medici*, repairing to their Camp on that Affair. At laſt thoſe of the Canton of

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A. D. 1521. *Zurich*, who, as they have greater Authority, make a Profeſſion of deporting themſelves with greater Gravity, perſiſted in their Refuſal; the others, after much Boggling and Suſpenſe, neither expreſſly refuſed nor accepted the Demand, not denying their Conſent to follow the Army, but without declaring themſelves ready to march after it into the Dutchy of *Milan*. In this Caſe, by Advice of the Cardinal of *Sion*, and the *Swiſs* Officers, whoſe Aſſent had been gained by a Multitude of Promiſes, it was reſolved to proceed forwards in Hopes that ſince theſe Troops had not refuſed to follow them, it might not be difficult to lead them into any Place whereever the Army went.

THUS the *Zuricheſe*, in Number Four Thouſand, turning their March towards *Reggio*, the Army, after about a Month's Station at *Gabbioneta* and *Oſtiano*, joined the other *Swiſs* at *Gambera*, and ſet forwards, the two Legates, *Sion* and *Medici*, marching in the midſt with ſilver Croſſes, and, ſo great is the Abuſe in our Times of the Reverence due to Religion! ſurrounded,

ſurrounded, amidſt an Infinity of Arms and Artillery, with Blaſphemers, Murderers and Robbers. In three Marches through the Territory of the *Venetians* they arrived at *Orci Vecchi* a Caſtle of the Republic, excuſing their Paſſage to the Senate as occaſioned by Neceſſity, and not from a Deſire to give them Offence, in the ſame Manner as the Senate had before excuſed themſelves by alledging that *Andrea Gritti* their Proveditor had been forced to conſent that *Lautrech* ſhould ſend Artillery to *Pontevico*. At *Orci Vecchi* arrived Expreſſes ſent by the Lords of the Cantons to command the *Swiſs* to leave the Army, and the like Orders were ſent by other Expreſſes to thoſe who were in the *French* Camp, repreſenting that it was a Diſhonour to their Name that their Troops ſhould ſerve in two hoſtile Armies under the public Banners. But theſe Orders had different Effects; for the Expreſſes which were coming to the Camp of the League were purpoſely detained on the Road, and never came to the *Swiſs* who were with *Sion*, but all thoſe in the *French* Service quitted it in a manner without any Warning,

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Swiſs leave the *French* Army.

A. D. 1521. ing, induced, as it is ſuppoſed, not ſo much by the Orders of their Superiors, or from the Tediouſneſs of the War, of which they are uſually impatient above all other Nations, as becauſe *Lautrech* having no Remittances of Money from *France*, and the Sums which he had rigorouſly exacted of the Dutchy of *Milan* falling ſhort, was in no Condition to pay them.

Reflexions on bad Miniſters.

HENCE we might juſtly take Occaſion to reflect on the mighty Influence of the Malignity and Imprudence of Miniſters on the Affairs of ſuch Princes as, either thro' Indolence neglect the public Buſineſs, or from Want of Parts are of themſelves incapable of diſcerning good Counſels from bad: For Three Hundred Thouſand Ducats being provided, in order to be ſent to *Lautrech* according to the Promiſes made to that General, the Lady Regent, Mother of the King, ſacrificing her Son's Profit to her Jealouſy of *Lautrech*'s Greatneſs, took care that the Adminiſtrators of the Finances ſhould, without the King's Knowledge, convert that Sum of Money to other Uſes.

LAUTRECH

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LAUTRECH therefore much perplexed in Mind, aud under deep Concern, because, by the Departure of the *Swiſs*, the Succeſs of the War, which before was like to be happy, was now become very dubious, leaving Garriſons in *Cremona* and *Pizzichitone*, aſſembled the reſt of his Army at *Caſſano*, in Hopes to prevent the Enemy from paſſing the *Adda*, as well on Account of the other Difficulties that attend an Army in the Paſſage of Rivers againſt an Enemy poſted on the oppoſite Bank, as becauſe in that Place the Bank of the River towards *Milan* raiſes itſelf to a more than ordinary Height, from whence he could do more Execution with his Cannon upon the Enemy, than he could receive Damage from their Batteries. Motions of *Lautrech*.

ON the other Side the Apoſtolic Legates and Generals decamped from *Orci Vecchi*, and again paſſing the *Oglio* arrived in three Marches at *Rivolta*, without feeling any more a Want of Proviſions, becauſe the Towns of the *Ghiaradadda*, which were abandoned by the *French*, ſupplied

A. D. 1521. ſupplied them in Abundance. At this Place while the Armies were intent, one on gaining and the other on defending the Paſſage of the River, *Proſpero* and the other Generals prepared to lay a Bridge between *Rivolta* and *Caſſano*, a very difficult and hazardous Undertaking becauſe of the Oppoſition of the Enemy. After ſpending two or three Days in Delays and Conſultations, at laſt *Proſpero*, without communicating his Deſign to the Marquis of *Peſcara*, that he might have none to ſhare with him in the Glory of the Action, and refuſing the Service of the *Spaniards* becauſe it ſhould not come to his Knowledge, cauſed two ſmall Barks to be privately taken out of the River *Brembo*, on board which he ordered ſome Companies of *Italian* Foot to paſs the River *Adda* with all poſſible Silence in the Night over againſt the Town of *Vauri*, which is an open unwalled Place ſituated on the Bank of the *Adda* five Miles from *Caſſano*, where there is a Conveniency of paſſing the River, and in the midſt of the Town is a ſmall Circuit of Walls, which ſerves for a Fort. This Place was guarded by a few Horſe commanded

manded by *Ugo de Peppoli*, Lieutenant of a Company of Lances conferred by the King of *France* on *Ottaviano Fregoſo*. *Ugo* hearing the Noiſe haſted to encounter the Enemy on the Bank, but was eaſily repulſed by the Fire of the Muſquets. But it is believed that he might with Eaſe have defended himſelf, if the Horſe which he had with him had been ſupported by a Number of Muſqueteers, which, as he affirmed, he had demanded of *Lautrech*. The Foot, as they paſſed the River, drew up on an Eminence in the Town, which has a ſmall Kind of Fort as beforementioned, expecting the Succours that had been appointed by *Proſpero*, who, on the firſt Notice of this happy Beginning, immediately turned that Way almoſt all the Foot of the Army that were quartered in the little Towns of the *Ghiaradadda*, with Orders that thoſe who firſt arrived, and afterwards others, ſucceſſively, ſhould without Delay paſs the River in the ſame Barks, and in two others of thoſe which were carried in the Army for the Convenience of laying a Bridge over Rivers, and had that Night been conveyed by Land to the

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A. D. 1521. the ſame Bank: And *Proſpero* himſelf and the other Generals, with the Cardinal *de Medici* in all Haſte took the ſame Way, leaving Orders at *Rivolta* that if the *French* left their Station, a Bridge ſhould immediately be laid. But at *Vauri* the Succeſs of the Enterpriſe was ſtill for ſome Hours uncertain; for if *Lautrech*, on the firſt Notice of the Enemies, had immediately detached thither a Part of his Army, it is not doubted but he would have oppreſſed them *; but after he had ſtood for ſeveral Hours in Suſpenſe, and uncertain what Meaſures to take, he detached *L'Eſcud* with Four Hundred Lances and the *French* Infantry, followed by ſome Pieces of Artillery. Theſe Troops marched with all Speed, and arriving immediately made a vigorous Attack on the Place where the Enemies were retired in Sight of thoſe on the oppoſite Bank who were coming to their Relief, the Hopes of which encouraged them to make a ſtout Defence, tho' *L'Eſcud*

* *Peppoli* had ſent to demand Succours of *Lautrech*, who happened to be aſleep in his Chamber, and his Attendants unwilling that their Maſter ſhould be diſturbed, would not ſuffer the Meſſenger to enter the Room. *Giov.*

L'Eſcud with his Men at Arms diſmounting on Foot fought moſt valiantly in the narrow Ways, and it is not doubted that, if the Cannon had arrived in Seaſon, he would have conquered them. In the mean time wonderful was the Hurry on the oppoſite Bank, where *Tegane*, Commander of the *Griſons*, and two *Spaniſh* Enſigns of Foot, animated by the moving Speeches of the Cardinal *de' Medici* and the Generals, were continually preſſing to be foremoſt in paſſing the River as many together as the Barks would hold at a time. But *Giovanni de' Medici*, encouraged by none, but only ſtimulated by his own Magnanimity, and ardent Thirſt after Glory, paſſed the River mounted on a *Turkiſh* Horſe, which the Deepneſs of the Water obliged him to ſwim till he reached the oppoſite Shore, at the ſame time ſtriking Terror into his Enemies, and giving Encouragement to his Friends. At laſt *L'Eſcud*, though his Artillery was juſt arrived, deſpairing of Victory, with the Loſs of an Enſign, retired to *Caſſano*, from whence *Lautrech* retrreated with his whole Army to *Milan*. When he was arrived

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Army of the League paſſes the *Adda*.

A. D. 1521. arrived in that City, either that he might not loſe the Opportunity of gratifying the Hatred he had before conceived, or with an Intent to ſtrike a Terror into the Minds of the People by ſo tragical a Spectacle, he cauſed *Criſtofano Palavicino* to be publicly beheaded. A Sight truly lamentable, whether you regard the Nobility of the Family, the Greatneſs of the Perſon, or his Age, and that he had been put in Priſon many Months before the War.

Reflections on the Event. THE Paſſage of the *Adda* exalted to the Skies the Name of *Proſpero*, who before, by his Retreat from *Parma*, and the Slowneſs of his Proceedings, had loſt all his Reputation in *Rome* and in the Army. But as the Memory of former Actions is frequently obliterated by the laſt, every Mouth was now full of his Praiſes, celebrating him as the Man who, without Blood, and without Danger, but wholly by Policy and Induſtry, worthy of the moſt expert General, had ſtolen from the Enemy a Paſſage over that River which *Lautrech* had promiſed himſelf to prevent,

prevent, with ſuch an Aſſurance that, beſides what he ſaid of it in public, he had written to the King that he would abſolutely hinder it. There were not wanting ſome however who with Reaſons, either real or apparent, endeavoured to extenuate the Glory of this Action, alledging that it ſhewed no extraordinary Parts or Induſtry either in the Invention or Execution, becauſe Nature of itſelf teaches every one who meets with Oppoſition at Rivers or narrow Paſſes to ſeek a Paſſage either above or below where there is none to hinder him; that the Paſs of *Vauri* lay near, was very convenient, and a Paſs ordinarily frequented, and that *Lautrech* had been ſo neglectful to guard it that his Negligence had left no Room for Induſtry. And upon what other Account is *Proſpero* to be commended for his provident Care and Foreſight, beſides his privately procuring the Boats, and managing the Affair with the neceſſary Silence and Secreſy? Others who are perhaps too exact Judges of Matters, and more ready to condemn dubious Errors than to commend certain Succeſs, not content with diminiſhing the

A. D. 1521.

A. D 1521. Fame of his Induſtry have cenſured him for not taking due Precautions, and obſerving convenient Order, becauſe he had ſent no Orders to the Troops that were quartered in *Trevi*, *Caravaggio*, and divers other Places, and deſigned for Succours, to put themſelves in Motion before he had Notice that the Foot he had ſent forwards had taken Poſſeſſion of *Vauri*, by which means it was the Middle of the Day before the foremoſt of them could poſſibly arrive on the Bank of the River, and above fourteen Hours after the firſt Detachment had paſſed; whence it was not doubted that if *Lautrech*, at the firſt Notice, had acted as he did many Hours afterwards, he would have recovered *Vauri*, and defeated the Troops that were paſſed, becauſe the Forces appointed to ſupport them would have arrived too late. But theſe Conſtructions did not fully the Glory of *Proſpero*, for the Public uſually judges of Things by the Event, ſometimes praiſing ſometimes condemning as the Succeſs happens to be proſperous or adverſe, and always aſcribing to Counſel and Deſign what is often owing merely to Fortune.

LAUTRECH

A. D. 1521.

LAUTRECH being retired from the Bank of the *Adda*, every one expected that the Enemy, who the next Day laid a Bridge between *Rivolta* and *Caſſano*, would as ſoon as poſſible approach *Milan*; but *Proſpero*, whoſe Connſel, tho' generally blamed by the Vulgar, was approved by the Skilful in the military Art, choſe rather the firſt Day to march by a longer Way about, and to take up his Quarters at *Marignano*, a Town halfway between *Milan* and *Pavia*; for it being impoſſible to encamp in the open Field, on account of the Seaſon, which was come in cold and very rainy, he thought it more convenient to approach *Milan* on that Side, from which, if he found it difficult, as he imagined it would be, to gain an Entrance into the Place, he might immediately turn his March for *Pavia*, where *Lautrech*, in order to draw all his Forces to *Milan*, had left no Garriſon, that he might fix the Seat of the War in that plentiful and very commodious City. On the other Side, *Lautrech*, whoſe Foot were reduced to a ſmall Number, was inclined

Proſpero encamps at *Marignano*.

A. D. 1521. at firſt to defend only the City of *Milan*; but afterwards conſidering that if he abandoned the Suburbs he ſhould give the Enemy an Opportunity to lodge themſelves there, and by that means carry on the Siege at their own Leiſure, he reſolved to guard alſo the Suburbs: A Reſolution certainly full of Fortitude and Prudence, if it had been accompanied with due Vigilance, and by means of which, conſidering the ſudden Accidents which happened but a very few Days after, Affairs would have taken a very different Turn from what happened.

But the Army of the League, the greater Part of which was quartered at *Marignano*, and the *Swiſs* more advanced at the Abby of *Chiaravalle*, having reſted three Days in expectation of the Artillery, which the Difficulty of the Roads had rendered impoſſible to keep Pace with the Army, directed its March to *Milan*, with an Intention, if it did not gain an Entrance the ſame Day, to depart the next for *Pavia*, whither Part of the light Horſe had been already detached to take Poſſeſſion.

Poſſeſſion. And it happened that Morning, which is very remarkable, that while the Legates and the principal Officers of the Army ſtopped in a Meadow near *Chiaravalle*, to give Room for the *Swiſs* to march, they were addreſſed by a venerable old Man, in a Plebeian Dreſs, who declared that he was ſent by the Inhabitants of the Pariſh of *San Siro* in *Milan*, and conjured them with great Earneſtneſs to march forwards, becauſe it had been appointed that not only the Inhabitants of that Pariſh, but all the People of *Milan*, ſhould at the firſt Approach of the Army, at the Sound of the Bells in all the Pariſhes, riſe up in Arms againſt the *French*. And this Adventure appeared afterwards the more ſurpriſing becauſe after the moſt diligent Search that could be made to find the Man again, it could never be known who he was, nor from whom he had been ſent.

A. D. 1521.

A remarkable Adventure.

THE Army then marched in Order of Battle towards the *Roman* Gate, the heavy Artillery ſtopping at the Head of a Way that turns towards *Pavia*; and the *Spaniſh*

A. D. 1521. Foot under the Marquis of *Peſcara* advancing in Front, approached towards Night the Foſs between the *Roman* Gate and the Gate of *Pavia*, and the Muſqueteers preſenting themſelves before a Baſtion erected in a Place called the *Vicentino*, near the Gate named *Lodovica*, more with Deſign of making a Tryal, than in Hopes of obtaining any Advantage, the *Venetian* Troops, which had the Guard of that Poſt, not daring ſo much as to look the Enemy in the Face, with the moſt ſhameful Cowardice turned their Backs, and betook themſelves to Flight, and the *Swiſs* who were poſted near them behaved in the ſame Manner, ſo that the *Spaniſh* Foot paſſed the Ditch and the Rampart without Difficulty, taking Priſoner as they paſſed *Teodoro da Trivulzi*, who on the firſt Alarm had poſted thither unarmed on a Mule, and received a ſlight Wound; he afterwards paid the Marquis of *Peſcara* Twenty Thouſand Ducats for his Ranſom. *Andrea Gritti* with much Difficulty ſaved himſelf, and joining the *French* in their Flight they all retired together, fetching a long Compaſs, into the City,

Army of the League approaches *Milan*.

City, where having made no Proviſions for Defence, and having but very few Foot, and the Hearts of the People diſpoſed to Rebellion, they made a Halt about the Caſtle. On the other Hand the Marquis of *Peſcara*, intent on following his good Fortune, approaching the *Roman* Gate (the Gates of the City and thoſe of the Suburbs are called by the ſame Names) was by the Chiefs of the *Ghibelline* Faction, who had ſeized on that Gate, admitted into the Place, and a little after entered after the ſame Manner, by the Gate of the *Teſino*, the Cardinal *de' Medici*, the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and *Proſpero*, with a Part of the Army, the Conquerors themſelves wondering by what Means, and through what Diſorder they had obtained ſo eaſy and important a Victory. But the principal Cauſe proceeded from the Negligence of the *French*, for *Lautrech*, by what appeared afterwards, had not only no Intelligence that the Army had moved that Day, but it is believed that the vaſt Damages done to the Roads by the exceſſive Rains had rendered him ſecure, as making it impracti-

A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. cable for the Enemy on that Day to move their Artillery, without which he did not imagine they would venture to attack the Ramparts. Hence at that very Time when the Enemy was entering the Gates, he was taking his Diverſion with ſome of his Officers on Horſeback, and riding through the Streets of *Milan* unarmed; and *L'Eſcud*, fatigued and ſpent with Watching the Night before, was aſleep in his own Quarters. It is believed however that after the *French* General had aſſembled the flying Troops on the Plain before the Caſtle he might have had a fair Opportunity of attacking the Enemy, Part of whom were quartered after a very diſorderly Manner in *Milan*, Part of them remained in the Suburbs in the ſame Diſorder, and the reſt were encamped without the Town after a ſcattering and confuſed Rate. But Fear and the Miſtakes occaſioned by the Darkneſs of the Night preventing him from diſcerning in ſo ſhort a Time the Poſture of the Enemy, he went off the ſame Night with the whole Army to *Como*. Here he left Fifty Men at Arms, and Six Hundred Foot, and then taking

taking the Road through the Pieve of *Inzino*, paſſed the *Adda* at *Lecco*, and arrived in the Territory of *Bergamo*, the Caſtle of *Milan* being provided with a good Garriſon and all Neceſſaries. *A. D.* 1521.

THE Example of *Milan* was followed by *Lodi* and *Pavia*, and at the ſame time the Biſhop of *Piſtoia* and *Vitello*, who had left *Parma* behind them, and taken the Way to *Piacenza*, were freely received by that City. The ſame Inclination was in the City of *Cremona*, where News being juſt before received not only of the Revolution in *Milan*, but alſo that the *French* Army was defeated, the People roſe in Arms, and began to cry up the Name of the Empire and of the Duke of *Milan*. *Lautrech*, who was arrived in the *Bergamaſco*, on receiving Advice of the State of Affairs in *Cremona*, ordered thither *L'Eſcud* with Part of the Troops to recover the Town. But *L'Eſcud* being repulſed by the People, *Lautrech* himſelf marched away with all his Force for that City, though he had but ſmall Hopes of Succeſs, becauſe it might eaſily be ſuccoured

Lodi, *Pavia*, &c. declare for the League.

A. D. 1521. coured by ſo great a Number of *Swiſs* as were then in *Piacenza*, and becauſe he thought himſelf inſufficient to defend ſo many Places at once, he ſent Orders to *Federigo da Bozzolo* to abandon *Parma*. His Enterpriſe met with Succeſs; for tho' the Biſhop of *Piſtoia* had Orders from the Cardinal *de' Medici*, as ſoon as he had Advice of the Rebellion of *Cremona*, to ſend thither Part of the *Swiſs* for ſecuring that Acquiſition, yet being unwilling to divide thoſe Troops, or to employ himſelf in any other Buſineſs than gratifying his Deſire of marching with the *Swiſs* on an Enterpriſe which was deſigned againſt *Genoa*, he delayed ſo long that *Lautrech*, who was ſtill Maſter of the Caſtle, there being none to defend the Town againſt him but the People, who immediately ſent Ambaſſadors to demand Pardon for their Offence, eaſily recovered the Place. On this Succeſs he was mightily encouraged, and ſent Orders to *Federigo da Bozzolo* not to quit *Parma*; but *Federigo* had already left it, and had paſſed the *Po* with his Troops; and *Vitello*, who was on his March with his Regiment for *Piacenza*, being not far from

from *Parma* when *Federigo* quitted it, had been invited, by the unanimous Conſent of all the People, and made his Entry into that City. *A. D.* 1521.

THE Generals were now intent on acquiring the reſt of the State of *Milan*, with a Deſign to reduce the Expences of the War to a more moderate Standard, for which End the Marquis of *Peſcara* was ſent from *Milan* with the *Spaniſh*, *German*, and *Griſon* Troops ro lay Siege to *Como*. After a Battery had begun to play, the Garriſon of the City, deſpairing of Relief, capitulated on Condition that the *French* Soldiers and the Inhabitants of the Place ſhould be ſafe in their Perſons and Effects. But when the *French* were ready to depart the *Spaniards* entered the Town, and plundered it, to the great Reproach of the Marquis, who not long afterwards was charged by *Giovanni Garbaneo*, Commander of the *French* Troops in *Como*, with Breach of Faith, and challenged to fight a Duel. *Como* ſurrendered.

AT

A. D. 1521.

Biſhop of *Veruli* impriſoned by the *Swiſs*.

At this Time alſo was the Biſhop of *Veruli* ſent to the *Swiſs* to confirm them in their friendly Diſpoſitions, but on his Arrival at *Belinzone* they committed him into Cuſtody; for as they were diſſatisfied with the Proceedings of their Troops againſt the King of *France*, they complained not only of the Cardinal of *Sion* and of the Pope, and all his Miniſters, but among others particularly of *Veruli*, who reſiding with them in Quality of the Pope's Nuncio had laboured to induce them to contravene the Exception with which they had been granted.

The Affairs of the War were reduced to ſuch a Situation as to afford the Pontiff and *Cæſar* great Hopes of ſecuring the Victory, becauſe the King of *France* could not under a long time ſend new Forces into *Italy*, and the Power of thoſe Potentates who had taken from him *Milan* with the greater Part of that Dutchy, ſeemed ſufficient not only to preſerve what they had acquired, but to conquer what as yet remained in the Hands of the Enemy.

Enemy. And indeed the *Venetian* Senate, terrified at ſuch great Succeſs, and apprehenſive that the War which was begun againſt others would be brought home to their own Doors, put the Pope in Hopes that they would procure the *French* Troops to depart out of their Dominions. But a ſudden and unforeſeen Event produced as ſudden a Change in the Scene of Affairs by the Death of Pope *Leo*, who unexpectedly departed this Life on the firſt Day of *December* in his Villa at *Magliano*, to which he frequently retired for his Recreation. He had received with inexpreſſible Pleaſure the News of the Acquiſition of *Milan*, and was ſeized the ſame Night with a ſlow Fever; the next Day he was carried to *Rome*, and tho' his Diſorder in the Beginning was reckoned by the Phyſicians of no Conſequence, it carried him off in a very few Days, not without ſtrong Suſpicions of Poiſon, adminiſtered to him, as imagined, by *Bernabo Malaſpina* his Chamberlain, whoſe Office it was to give him Drink. But tho' he was impriſoned on that Suſpicion, the Affair was no further exa-

A. D. 1521.

Death of Pope *Leo* X.

A. D. 1521. examined, becauſe the Cardinal *de' Medici*, as ſoon as he came to *Rome*, had him ſet at Liberty, that he might have no Occaſion to contract greater Enmity with the King of *France*, by whoſe Procurement, it was whiſpered, tho' by uncertain Authority and Conjecture, that *Bernabo* had adminiſtered the Poiſon.

LEO left the World, if you regard the Opinion of Men, when he was in the Midſt of his Glory and Felicity, by the Reduction of *Milan* being delivered from Dangers, and from thoſe infinite Expences, for which, tho' quite exhauſted of Money, he was conſtrained to provide at any Rate; and becauſe a few Days before his Death he received the News of the Acquiſition of *Piacenza*, and on the very Day that he died he had Advice of that of *Parma*; Events which he ſo ardently deſired that we are aſſured that, when he reſolved to undertake a War againſt the *French*, he ſaid to the Cardinal *de' Medici*, who diſſuaded him from it, that his principal Motive was his Deſire to recover thoſe two Cities to the Church, and

and that whenever he ſhould obtain that Favour he ſhould be content to die. He was a Prince worthy to be praiſed as well as blamed on many Accounts, and who greatly deceived the Expectations conceived of him at his Aſſumption to the Pontificate, ſince he appeared to be endowed with greater Prudence, but with much leſs Goodneſs, than all had imagined. *A. D.* 1521.

THE Death of the Pontiff greatly weakened the Intereſts of *Cæſar* in *Lombardy*, for there was no Room to doubt but that the King of *France*, reſuming Courage by his Deliverance from an Enemy by whoſe Money the War had been commenced and ſupported, would ſend a new Army into *Italy*, and that the *Venetians* for the ſame Reaſon would continue in Confederacy with him. Hence the Deſigns of attacking *Cremona* and *Genoa* were laid aſide, and the Miniſters of *Cæſar*, who had hitherto with Difficulty paid the *Spaniſh* Troops, were conſtrained not without Danger to diminiſh the Number of their Forces, while the King of *France* kept

Affairs of *Italy* affected by the Pope's Death.

A. D. 1521. kept Poſſeſſion of *Cremona*, *Genoa*, *Aleſſandria*, the Caſtle of *Milan*, with the Fortreſſes of *Novara*, *Trezzo*, *Pizzichitone*, *Domuſſola*, and *Arona*, and all the *Lago Maggiore*. The Fort of *Pontremoli* alſo which had been ſeized by the Enemy was recovered by *Sinibaldo dal Fieſco*, and the Count of *Noceto*, and reduced to his Obedience. Nor had the Affairs of the King of *France* beyond the Mountains all this while a proſperous Courſe, for *Cæſar* carrying his Arms againſt him took the City of *Tournay*, and ſoon after the Cittadel, in which were great Stores of Cannon and Ammunition.

Tournay taken by Cæſar.

THE Pope's Death occaſioned an Introduction of new Governments, new Counſels, and new Orders in the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Cardinals of *Sion* and *Medici* immediately ſet out for *Rome*, to be preſent at the Election of a new Pontiff. The *Cæſarean* Generals keeping only Fifteen Hundred *Swiſs*, diſmiſſed all the reſt with the *German* Foot; the Troops of the *Florentines* returned towards *Tuſcany*, thoſe of the Church went Part of them

them under the Conduct of *Guido Rangone* to *Modena*, another Part under the Marquis of *Mantoua* remained in the State of *Milan*, rather in Purſuance of their own Reſolution than by the Conſent of the College of Cardinals, which being divided within itſelf could come to no Determination on any Point; ſo that when *Lautrech* made his Complaint to them that the Soldiers of the Church had taken up their Quarters in the Dutchy of *Milan* to the Prejudice of the King of *France*, who, from the extraordinary pious Services performed by his Predeceſſors to the Church, had obtained the Title of her Defender and eldeſt Son, they could agree on no other Anſwer or Reſolution, than that they referred his Grievance to the Determination of the future Pope. Part of the *Swiſs* who were in *Piacenza* marched with the Biſhop of *Piſtoia* to *Modena* for the Security of that City and of *Reggio* againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, who ſince the Death of *Leo* X. had taken the Field with One Hundred Men at Arms, Two Thouſand Foot, and Three Hundred light Horſe, and by a voluntary

A. D. 1521.

Duke of *Ferrara* recovers his Towns

A. D. 1521. Submiſſion of the Inhabitants had recovered *Bondino*, *Finale*, the Mountain of *Modena*, and the *Carfagnana*, and with ſome little Difficulty *Lugo*, *Bagnacavallo*, and the other Towns in *Romagna*, and was gone to lay Siege to *Cento*.

THE *Swiſs* of the Canton of *Zurich* remained at *Piacenza*, and becauſe they would not ſeparate themſelves could not be induced to ſpare One Thouſand of their Men for the Defence of *Parma*. That City remaining in a Manner unprovided gave Encouragement to *Lautrech*, who was in *Cremona* with Six Hundred Lances and Two Thouſand Five Hundred Foot, to attempt to retake it; being ſtimulated alſo to the Enterpriſe by the preſſing Sollicitations eſpecially of *Federigo da Bozzolo*, who by his particular Dexterity in the Management of Affairs of that Nature had obtained great Confidence in his Conduct. It was deſigned that *Bonneval* with Three Hundred Lances, and *Federigo* and *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, one with the *French* Foot, and the other with thoſe of the *Venetians*, making in all

French Deſign upon *Parma*.

Five

Five Hundred Men, ſhould make a ſud- *A. D.* 1521.
den Attack on that City, which had a Garriſon of Seven Hundred *Italian* Foot, and Fifty Men at Arms of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, the People well diſpoſed in their Affections to the Church, but ill armed, and diſpirited by the Memory of the *French*, and of the Severities exerciſed by *Federigo*; and that Part of the City which had been battered when it was beſieged by the Church, where the Walls had been beaten down, was ſtill in Ruins without the leaſt Reparation. To this might be added the Vacancy of the Apoſtolic See, during which the Minds of the People are uſually fluctuating and irreſolute, and the Governors more attentive to their own Safety than to the Defence of Towns, as not knowing for whom they are to expoſe themſelves to Danger.

On this Foundation then the *French* Infantry were ſent by Night down the *Po* to *Torricella*, where they were joined by the Men at Arms which came from *Cremona* by Land, and having taken Care to

A. D. 1521. bring along a good Number of Boats from *Cremona*, they paſſed the *Po* in the Night at *Torricella* twelve Miles diſtant from *Parma*, leaving Orders for *Marc' Antonio Colonna* with the *Venetian* Foot, who were encamped on the *Oglio*, to follow them. This Deſign being apprehended the ſame Night by *Franceſco Guicciardini*, who was come from *Milan*, by Orders of the Cardinal *de' Medici*, to take upon him the Care of *Parma*, he called an Aſſembly of the People in the Night, and, exhorting them to defend themſelves, diſtributed among them One Thouſand Pikes, which he had two Days before, ſuſpecting ſome Accidents might happen, cauſed to be brought from *Reggio*. Hence he carefully attended on making the neceſſary Proviſions for defending himſelf, being ſenſible of many Difficulties on account of the ſmall Number of regular Troops that were in the Place, which were not ſufficient to maintain it without the Aſſiſtance of the People, on which, ſuch is the Nature of the Multitude, in ſudden and dangerous Caſes, he could lay no ſolid Foundation of Confidence.

Guicciardini prepares for its Defence.

Con-

Conſidering alſo that he could not prevent the Enemy from entering the *Codiponte*, he withdrew the Soldiers and all the Inhabitants of the Place into another Part of the City, but not without extreme Difficulty, becauſe many of the People were vainly perſuaded that it was poſſible to defend it, and thoſe who inhabited that Part, thinking it hard to be forced to abandon their own Houſes, could neither by Reaſons nor Authority be diſpoſed to leave them before the Approach of the Enemies. The long Delay of the *Parmeſans* in conſenting to retire had very like to have drawn the *French* along with them into the other Part of the Town, where were many Difficulties, and eſpecially a Want of Money at a Time of great Neceſſity, for it happened to be the very Day appointed for the Payment of the Troops, who proteſted that if they were not paid the next Day they would leave the City. A. D. 1521.

On the firſt Day *Federigo da Bozzolo* with Three Thouſand Foot and ſome light Horſe entered the *Codiponte*, which

A. D. 1521. was abandoned, and was followed the Day after by *Bonneval* with the *French* Lances, and *Marc' Antonio Colonna* with Two Thouſand *Venetian* Foot; but they had no other Artillery than two Sakers, the very bad Roads at this Seaſon lying low, and full of Water from the Neighbourhood of the *Po*, rendering it impoſſible or at leaſt very difficult to convey Cannon large enough for Battery: beſides that could not be done without loſing more Time than was conſiſtent with that Expedition on which they founded their Hopes, imagining, tho' without Reaſon, that *Parma* would receive Succours either from *Modena* or *Piacenza*. The People however were poſſeſſed with an Opinion, from the Reports of the Peaſants who were fled into the Place, that the heavy Artillery was on the Road, which wonderfully terrified them, and much the more becauſe *Federigo*, having taken ſome Citizens in their Territory, after he had, by means of ſome Rebels of *Parma*, who attended him, cunningly made them believe that *Marc' Antonio Colonna* was coming with a very numerous Body of Troops

Troops furniſhed with a Train of Artillery, gave them Permiſſion to go into *Parma*. Here, by magnifying the Forces of the Enemy much above the Truth, they filled the People with ſo great a Terror, that not only the Multitude in every Quarter of the City, but the Councils, and thoſe Magiſtrates who were intruſted with the Affairs of the Community, began openly to importune the Governor to prevent the Danger of having himſelf and the Garriſon made Priſoners, and to ſave the Town from being plundered, by hearkening to an Agreement. While the Governor was oppoſing their Sollicitations by Arguments and by Intreaties, and the Time was waſted in Diſputes, a new Difficulty aroſe; for it being the Time of Payment, the Foot made a Mutiny, and gave Intimations that they intended to quit the City. The Commiſſary however, after many Perſuaſions, prevailed with the Citizens, who were grown cool in performing what they had before promiſed, to provide Part of the Money, repreſenting to them that this Diſburſement would, at all Events, prove of no inconſiderable Service towards their

A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. Juſtification, on all Occaſions, with future Popes. With this Money he appeaſed, as well as he could, the Tumult, which had increaſed the Fears of the People, and the Soldiers ſeeing themſelves but few in Number, and therefore in the Power of the Inhabitants, whom they underſtood to be wavering in their Diſpoſition in all Parts of the City, were poſſeſſed with a vehement Suſpicion that they ſhould be attacked from within and from without the Walls at the ſame Time, for which Reaſon they had rather the Town were ſurrendered by Capitulation on Condition of Safety to themſelves, than remain expoſed to ſo great a Danger. In this Situation when Affairs were reduced to no ſmall Straits, nothing was more neceſſary than the Conſtancy of the Governor, who ſometimes proteſted to the Soldiers that he would ſhare with them in the common Danger, ſometimes encouraged the principal Citizens met all together in Council, and reaſoning with them ſhewed the Vanity of their Fears, becauſe he had certain Intelligence that the Enemy had brought no heavy Cannon

His Exhortation to the Citizens.

non with them, without which it was ridiculous to imagine that by the Help of Scaling-ladders they could force an Entrance into the Town, where the young Men, in conjunction with the Soldiers, were ſufficient to reſiſt a much greater Force: That he had ſent to *Modena*, where lay the *Swiſs* and *Vitello* and *Guido Rangone* with their Troops, to demand Succours; and that he did not doubt but, by the End of the next Day at fartheſt, they would receive ſuch Relief from them as would conſtrain the Enemy to remove; for the Regard to their own Honour, with the Apprehenſions that the Loſs of *Parma* might be followed by a greater Diſorder, would oblige them, conſidering the great Number of Troops which they had with them, to advance forwards. He had ſent alſo, he ſaid, for the ſame Purpoſe, to *Piacenza*, whence he had very great Hopes for the ſame Reaſons. They ought to conſider, he told them, that ſince the Pope was dead, from whom he had received Honours and Promotions, he had no Obligation or Motive remaining on him, which could pre-

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A. D. 1521. prevail upon him, if Affairs had been in that Situation in which they imagined them to be, to expoſe himſelf voluntarily to ſuch manifeſt Danger. For it had always been demonſtrated, by Experience, that the Miniſters of a deceaſed Pontiff could never expect any Place or Reward from the ſucceeding Pope: On the contrary it might eaſily happen that the new Pontiff might be an Enemy to *Florence* his native Country; for which Reaſon he had no Cauſe for public or private Reſpects to deſire the Grandeur of the Church, but many Caſes might well happen in which he ſhould be highly pleaſed with her Depreſſion: He had neither Wife nor Children, or any Poſſeſſions in *Parma*, which could create in him a Concern or Fear that if the City ſhould return under the Dominion of the *French* they ſhould be expoſed to their Luſt, Inſolence, or Rapine; he had therefore, for his own Part, no Reaſon to hope for any Advantage if *Parma* were defended, nor Cauſe to apprehend, from its Surrendry, any of thoſe Calamities which it had experienced under the galling Yoke of the *French*;

French; and ſince he ſhould expoſe his Perſon to the ſame Dangers with the reſt, in caſe it ſhould be taken by Force, they might aſſure themſelves that his Reſolution to ſtay in the Place proceeded from no other Motive than his being well ſatisfied that the Troops of the Enemy having no heavy Artillery, as to his certain Knowledge they had not, were incapable of forcing the Town: If he had doubted of their Security he ſhould not have oppoſed their coming to an Agreement, from a Deſire which he has in common with all other Men of his own Preſervation, eſpecially conſidering that the Apoſtolic See being vacant, and the regular Force which he had in *Parma* inſufficient to controul the Inclinations of the People, nothing could be laid to his Charge, nor any Blame reſult to himſelf, from this their Reſolution. A. D. 1521.

With theſe Reaſons, ſometimes conferring with many of them apart, ſometimes diſputing with them all together, and ſometimes taking up their Time in walking about the Walls, and in making other

A. D. 1521. other Proviſions, he had amuſed them all the Night; for he had underſtood that tho' they were ardently deſirous to capitulate, for no other Reaſons but the extreme Fear in which they ſtood of being forced and plundered, yet they were reſtrained by knowing that if they made an Agreement without his Conſent they muſt expect to be ſtigmatiſed as Rebels. But at Break of the Day dedicated to *St. Thomas* the Apoſtle, and when now it began to be known by the Balls diſcharged from two Sakers which had been planted that Night, that the Enemy had no Artillery for battering the Wall, the Governor believed that at his Return to Council he ſhould find the whole Aſſembly of another Mind, and full of Security. But he found them of a quite contrary Diſpoſition, and their Fears were augmented in proportion as they fancied themſelves, ſince the Day was now begun, approaching ſtill nearer to the Danger. Hence they would no longer hearken to Reaſons, but begun, not only with the moſt open Inſtances, but with Proteſts, and with a kind of tacit Menaces to urge the Governor to conſent

to

to a Capitulation. But he reſolutely anſwered them that ſince it was not in his Power to prevent them from taking ſuch Counſels, or forming ſuch Deſigns, as it would be if he had but a greater Force in *Parma*, he had no other Satisfaction for the Injury which they were conſulting to do to the Apoſtolic See, and to himſelf its Miniſter, than to ſee that if they were reſolved to make an Agreement with the Enemy, they could not avoid the Infamy of being noted as Rebels and diſloyal to their Sovereign; upbraiding them, in very warm Expreſſions, with the Oath of Fidelity which they had but a few Days before in the Great Church ſolemnly taken, as adminiſtered by him, to the Apoſtolic See; and proteſting that tho' he were to have before his Eyes the moſt evident Tokens of preſent Death from their Hands, they might reſt themſelves aſſured that they ſhould never induce him to alter his Sentiments, unleſs it ſhould happen that by the Arrival of Reinforcements or of heavy Artillery in the Enemy's Camp, or by ſome other Accident, the Danger of their Ruin ſhould

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Controuls their Deſire to ſurrender.

A. D. 1521. ſhould overbalance the Hopes of their Defence. With theſe Words he abruptly quitted the Council, partly to leave his Speeches ſounding in their Ears, and imprinted in their Breaſts with the greater Authority, and partly to give Orders about many Things which were neceſſary if the Enemy, as it was expected, were reſolved to give the Aſſault that Day, leaving the Aſſembly in Suſpenſe, and in a kind of Aſtoniſhment for a long Time. At laſt Fear prevailing above all other Conſiderations, they reſolved, whatever might happen, to ſend out Deputies to treat about ſurrendering the Town, and ordered ſome of their Number to wait on the Commiſſary, and proteſt that, if he obſtinately perſiſted in refuſing his Conſent for conſulting their own Safety, they were diſpoſed to do it by themſelves, in order to avoid the moſt evident Danger of a Sack. But, juſt at the Time when the Meſſage was ready to be delivered, Shoutings began to be heard from thoſe who were appointed to guard the Gates and the Walls, and the Bells of the higheſt Tower in the City by their Ringing

Ringing gave Notice that the Enemy was advancing from the *Codiponte* in regular Order to give the Aſſault, and were approached the Wall. The Commiſſary on this Occaſion, turning himſelf to the Meſſengers, who had not yet ſpoken, ſaid to the People " It is too late now to think of an Agreement tho' we ſhould be all of the ſame Mind; we have nothing to do but to defend ourſelves honourably, or ſubmit like Cowards to be plundered or taken Priſoners, unleſs you are willing to run the Fate of *Ravenna* and *Capua*, which were entered and plundered while they were treating of an Agreement with the Enemy under their Walls. I myſelf have hitherto done as much as it was poſſible for one Man to do, and have, with an Eye to your Advantage, brought you into ſuch a Situation as renders it neceſſary for you either to conquer or to die. If it lay in my Power alone to defend the City, I ſhould not be wanting to its Defence; but ſince that is not to be done without your Aſſiſtance, ſhew yourſelves therefore no leſs reſolute and ardent to defend, as you eaſily may, your Lives and Effects, with

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A. D. 1521. with the Honour of your Wives and Children, than you had been eager and importunate in your Deſires to throw yourſelves, without any Neceſſity, under Subjection to the *French*, whom you know to be all your moſt capital Enemies."

AFTER theſe Words he turned his Horſe another Way, and every one remaining confounded with Fear, and convinced that it was now too late to have Recourſe to other Remedies, laid aſide all Thoughts of a Capitulation. And indeed it was neceſſary to attend to their Defence, for a Part of the Enemies, with a vaſt Number of Ladders, which they had got together in the Country the Day before, approached a Baſtion which *Federigo* had formerly cauſed to be erected on the Side towards the *Po*, and attacked it with great Vigour; and at the ſame time another Body gave a very furious Aſſault on the Gate that leads towards *Reggio*, while Attacks were alſo made in two other Places, with the greater Diſadvantage to the Defendants as the Enemies were freſher, and ſtimulated by

by the Speeches of the Generals, eſpecially of *Federigo*; and the Men of the Town being full of Terror, durſt not, a very few excepted, approach the Wall, but for the moſt part choſe rather to ſhut themſelves up in their Houſes, as if they expected every Moment the utter Deſtruction of the City. Theſe Aſſaults laſted, with ſeveral Renewals, for the Space of four Hours, the Danger of the Defendants continually diminiſhing not only by the Wearineſs of the Enemy, who receiving nothing but Repulſes and Wounds, and galled from different Quarters, began to loſe Courage, but alſo becauſe the Townſmen obſerving with what Eaſe the Defence was made, ran one after another with great Alacrity to the Wall, the Commiſſary in the mean while beſtirring himſelf, and with great Sollicitude making the neceſſary Proviſions every where; ſo that before the Aſſault was ended there was not only a Concourſe of all the People, and even of thoſe in religious Orders to fight in Defence of the Wall, but alſo the Women attended in great Multitudes, carrying Wine and

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other Refreſhments to their Huſbands and Relations. Hence the Enemies deſpairing of Succeſs retired with conſiderable Loſs of Men either killed or wounded to the *Codiponte*, which they abandoned the next Morning, and after reſting a Day or two in the Neighbourhood of *Parma* returned beyond the *Po*. *Federigo* on this Occaſion proteſted that Nothing in this Expedition, of which he had been the Author, had deceived him, if he had not thought it incredible that a Governor who was not a Man of War, and but newly come to that City, ſhould chuſe rather to expoſe himſelf to Danger without Hopes of Profit, ſince the Pontiff was dead, than to take the ready Meaſures for his own Preſervation, which he might do without bringing upon himſelf any Diſhonour or Diſgrace.

French repulſed from *Parma*.

The Defence of *Parma* was of conſiderable Prejudice to the Affairs of the *French*, for it gave greater Spirits to the People of *Milan*, and to the other Inhabitants of that State to defend themſelves, than they had before, eſpecially as they knew

knew that the Place had but a few Soldiers in it, and had received no Succours, for neither had any Motion been made from *Piacenza*, nor would the *Swiſs* who were at *Modena*, nor *Guido Rangone* nor *Vitello*, ſend any Troops to the Relief of *Parma*. *Guido* alledged that tho' the Duke of *Ferrara*, after his unſucceſsful Siege of *Cento* defended by the *Bologneſe*, had, at the Coming of the *Swiſs*, retired to *Finale*, it was ſtill to be feared that if *Modena* were deprived of its Garriſon he would come and attack that City. And as for the Biſhop of *Piſtoia*, he ſtood ſo long wavering and irreſolute between the preſſing Inſtances of *Guicciardini* and the Perſuaſions of *Vitello*, who for his own Intereſt, ſollicited him to march with the *Swiſs* into *Romagna*, in order to prevent the Paſſage of the Duke of *Urbino*, that at laſt he failed them both. For *Parma* was defended of itſelf, and the Duke met with no Impediment in *Romagna*, becauſe the *Swiſs* at laſt would not move a Step before they had received their Pay. The Duke therefore accompanied by the two Brothers *Malateſta* and

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A. D. 1521. *Oratio Baglioni*, put themſelves on their March, the firſt to recover the States he had loſt, the others to return to *Perugia*, for which Purpoſe they had aſſembled at *Ferrara* Two Hundred Men at Arms, Three Hundred light Horſe, and Three Thouſand Foot, who, partly out of Friendſhip, partly in Hopes of Plunder, voluntarily followed them, for they could obtain no other Favour either of the *French* or *Venetians* than barely a Permiſſion to take any of their Soldiers who were willing to ſerve under them, and the *Venetians* gave Leave to *Malateſta* and *Oratio* to quit their Service. The Duke then with the Brothers ſet out from *Ferrara* for *Lugo* by the *Po*, and meeting with no Oppoſition in the State of the Church, as ſoon as they approached the Borders of the State of *Urbino*, the Duke, invited by the People, ſpeedily recovered his whole State, except what was in the Poſſeſſion of the *Florentines*; and then turning his March to *Peſara* recovered the Town with the ſame Eaſe; and in a few Days afterwards the Caſtle; and then following his good Fortune expelled from

Duke of *Urbino* recovers his State.

Came-

Camerino Giovan Maria da Varana, the antient Lord, who for the greater Splendor had obtained of *Leo* the Title of Duke, introducing in his Room *Giſmondo* a Youth of the ſame Family, who pretended a better Right to that State; but the Caſtle held out for the Duke, who had taken Refuge in *Aquila*. After executing this Enterpriſe, the Duke with *Malateſta* and *Oratio Baglioni* directed their March to *Perugia*, which the *Florentines* had undertaken to defend, not ſo much in purſuance of their own Counſel as in compliance with the Will of the Cardinal *de' Medici*, who was influenced by Hatred or Enmity conceived againſt the Duke of *Urbino* and the *Baglioni*, or imagining that their Neighbourhood might endanger his Authority in *Florence*, or becauſe, as he aſpired to the Pontificate, he was willing to gain the Reputation of being the ſole Defender of the Church in the Vacation of the See. For the College of Cardinals took not the leaſt Care to defend any Part of the eccleſiaſtic Dominion either in *Lombardy*, or in *Tuſcany*, or any where elſe, partly becauſe the Car-

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A. D. 1521. dinals were divided into different Factions, and every one was deeply intent on Projects for advancing himſelf to the Pontificate, and partly becauſe *Leo* had left no Sum of Money either in the Papal Treaſury, nor in the Caſtle of *Sant' Angelo*. For that Pope by his Prodigality had not only waſted the Treaſure accumulated by *Julius*, and the incredible Sums raiſed from Offices newly created, with a Diminution of Forty Thouſand Ducats of the yearly Revenue of the Church, but had left her vaſtly in Debt, and had pawned all the Jewels and precious Things of the pontifical Treaſury; ſo that it was wittily ſaid by a certain Perſon, "other Pontificates ended at the Death of the Popes, but that of *Leo* continued ſeveral Years after his Deceaſe." The College only ſent Archbiſhop *Orſino* to *Perugia*, in order to treat of ſome Agreement with the *Baglioni*, but that Prelate being ſuſpected by *Gentile* on account of his Relation by Kindred to the Sons of *Gian Pagolo*, and propounding to him Conditions which he thought inſufficient for his Security, the Treaty came to Nothing; ſo that on the

the laſt Day but one of the Year the Duke of *Urbino*, *Malateſta*, *Oratio Baglioni*, and *Camillo Orſino*, which laſt was followed by ſome Volunteers, who had newly joined them, went and encamped at the Bridge of *San Janni*, whence extending themſelves as far as *Baſtia* and the neighbouring Places, they infeſted Day and Night the City of *Perugia*. Within this Place beſides Five Hundred Foot in the Pay of *Gentile*, the *Florentines*, who by the Duke's turning his Arms againſt *Peſaro* had Time to provide for the Defence of that City, had put Two Thouſand Foot and One Hundred light Horſe under *Guido Vaina*, and One Hundred and Twenty Men at Arms and One Hundred light Horſe commanded by *Vitello*. A. D. 1521.

IN the mean time the Affairs of the *Milaneſe* were in a perfect Stagnation, and nothing was attempted by either Party but Plunder and Excurſions. By this Method the more effectually to diſtreſs the Places held by the Church, the *French* who remained in *Cremona*, to the Number of Two Thouſand Foot, laid a Bridge

A. D. 1521. over the *Po*, by which means they made frequent Inroads into the *Piacentine* and *Parmigian*, and infeſted the whole Country. And tho' *Proſpero*, at the Sollicitations of the other Generals gave out that he would beſiege *Trezzo*, and the Artillery was on the Road for that Purpoſe, yet he never put his Deſign in Execution, alledging that it was not proper that the Army ſhould be employed about one Place, but be always in Readineſs to ſuccour the State of the Church if the *French* ſhould offer to invade it. But in this Reſpect his Words did not ſeem to agree with his Sentiments, for when he had Notice that the Enemy was marched to make an Attempt on *Parma* he gave no Sign that he intended to ſuccour the Place, but ſaid that it was neceſſary to expect the Event, nay when *Piacenza* was abandoned, and remained without a Garriſon, on the ſudden Departure of the *Zurichan Swiſs* by the Commandment of their Superiors, *Proſpero* did his utmoſt to prevent the Marquis of *Mantoua* from marching with his Troops thither from *Milan*, tho' the Marquis by his Preſence in

Proſpero cenſured.

in *Piacenza* with the Troops of his own Dominion, and ſometimes advancing a Sum of Money as Neceſſity required, acquitted himſelf with the higheſt Honour in the Preſervation of that City. *A. D.* 1521.

Election of a new Pope why delayed.

NOR was there any Proviſion made againſt ſo dangerous a Juncture by the Election of a new Pontiff, which, to the very great Prejudice of the eccleſiaſtic State was deferred to give Time to the abſent Cardinals to repair to *Rome*, and alſo by the Detention of the Cardinal of *Jurea* in his Way from *Turin* to *Rome*, in the State of *Milan*, by the Orders of *Proſpero Colonna*, that he might not be preſent at the Conclave, becauſe he was in the *French* Intereſt. On this Account the College made a Decree that the Entrance into the Conclave ſhould be delayed for as many Days as Cardinal *Jurea* had been, or ſhould be for the future ſtopped from proceeding on his Journey. At length upon his Releaſe the Conclave was ſhut on the 27th Day of *December*, in which were preſent thirty-nine Cardinals, ſo greatly was their Number multiplied

A. D. 1521. plied by the immoderate Promotion made by *Leo*, at whoſe Creation no more than four and twenty Cardinals were aſſembled.

1522. THE firſt Tranſaction of the Year 1522 was the Revolution in the State of *Perugia*, which was brought about, as every one imagined, more by the Cowardice of the Defendants than by the Valour of thoſe who attacked the Place. The Enemy, being increaſed with a Body of Volunteers, and amounting to the Number of Two Hundred Men at Arms, Three Hundred light Horſe, and Five Thouſand Foot, poſſeſſed themſelves of the Suburb of *San Pietro*, which was abandoned by the Garriſon, and having ruined the Defences in ſeveral Places with ſeven Field Pieces lent them by the Duke of *Ferrara*, on the Fourth Day of the new Year gave the Aſſault with a vaſt Number of Scaling-Ladders at the Gates of *San Pietro*, *Sogli* and *Brogni*, and at ſeveral other Quarters. The Aſſault began at Daybreak, and with ſeveral Abatements of its Fury, may be ſaid to have continued almoſt the whole Day; and tho'

tho' in two or three Places the Enemy entered the Town, which was only defended by the Soldiers, for the Inhabitants would not ſtir, they were ſtill beaten out again with conſiderable Loſs. Hence *Gentile* and the *Florentine* Commiſſary were in high Spirits, and flattered themſelves they ſhould as eaſily defend the Place Day after Day. But the Timorouſneſs of *Vitello* was the Cauſe that Things had a far different Event; for he fearing that the People being more inclined to the Sons of *Gian Pagolo* than to *Gentile* would make ſome Commotion in their Favour, and it appearing to him of no ſmall Importance that the Enemies had their Quarters in the Suburbs between the two Gates of *San Piero* *, but above all induced by a Suſpicion he had entertained that in caſe of ill Succeſs his own Life was in Danger on account of the Hatred, which he knew he had incurred, of the Duke of *Urbino* and the Sons of *Gian Pagolo*, gave Notice in the Night to the other Generals that he intended to be gone,

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* The Gate of the City and that of its correſponding Suburb had the ſame Name.

A. D. 1522. gone, alledging that his Stay could be of no manner of Service. For the Day before in the Time of the Aſſault, he received a Shot in the little Toe of his right Foot, which pained him to ſuch a Degree that he was forced to keep his Bed. And tho' *Gentile* and the others endeavoured with many Intreaties to induce him to alter his Reſolution, demonſtrating to him how much his Departure would diſhearten the Soldiers and the People of the City, yet finding him obſtinate they determined to follow him. Thus in that ſame Night they went away to *Citta di Caſtello*, and *Perugia* received within its Walls the Brothers *Baglioni*, to the incredible Surpriſe of all thoſe who, having received Notice by Letters written the ſame Night of the happy Succeſs obtained againſt the Enemy the Day before, had Intelligence a few Hours after that *Vitello* and the reſt had cowardly abandoned their Poſts.

The *Baglioni* reſtored to *Perugia*.

THE Election of a new Pontiff had not as yet taken Effect, being delayed by the Diſagreement between the Cardinals, which

which was principally occaſioned by the Cardinal *de' Medici*. For that Prelate aſpiring to the Pontificate, and bearing a great Sway on account of his Grandeur and vaſt Revenues, and from the Glory he had acquired by the Reduction of *Milan*, had gained over to himſelf the Votes of Fifteen other Cardinals, induced either by their own Intereſts, or on the Score of Friendſhip, or by the Favours they had received from *Leo*, and ſome of them by the Hopes that, ſince they deſpaired of obtaining the Pontificate for themſelves, he would become a Favourer of thoſe who ſhould ſhew themſelves ready to eſpouſe his Intereſts. But many Objections concurred to croſs his Deſires; for to many of the Cardinals it appeared of pernicious Conſequence, that a deceaſed Pontiff ſhould be ſucceeded by one of the ſame Family, as ſhewing a Precedent for making the Popedom deſcend by hereditary Succeſſion. He was oppoſed by all the old Cardinals, who, having Pretenſions of their own to ſo high a Dignity, thought it intolerable that a Perſon under Fifty Years of Age ſhould be preferred before

A. D. 1522.

A. D. 1522. before them. Among his Oppoſers were alſo all thoſe of the Imperial Faction: For Cardinal *Colonna*, tho' at the Beginning he had ſhown himſelf ready to vote in his Favour, acted afterwards very openly in defeating his Meaſures; but his moſt bitter Enemies were thoſe Cardinals who had been diſſatisfied with *Leo*. There was however, in the Midſt of theſe Difficulties one Circumſtance which moſt effectually ſupported his Hopes, ſince his Adherents were more than a Third of the College, and while they kept themſelves united no Election could be made without their Conſent. Hence he was in Hopes that by Length of Time his Adverſaries, among whom were many by Age incapable of bearing long Fatigue, would either be tired out, or ſeparate from one another; beſides, tho' they agreed among themſelves in not creating him they diſagreed about creating others, each propoſing to himſelf his own Election or that of his Friends, and many of them moſt obſtinately bent not to yield one to another. But the Revolution in the State of *Perugia* mollified in ſome meaſure

ſure the Obſtinacy of the Cardinal *de' Medici*, through the Inſtances of Cardinal *de' Petrucci*, one of his Adherents. This Cardinal, who was at the Head of the Adminiſtration in *Siena*, being apprehenſive that by his Abſence the Affairs of that City, on which he underſtood that the Duke of *Urbino* deſigned to turn his Arms, would undergo ſome conſiderable Change, eagerly ſollicited the Election of a new Pope. At his Inſtances, accompanied with an intereſted Regard to the Danger which the Government of *Florence* would incur from any Change in the Adminiſtration of Affairs at *Siena*, the Cardinal *de' Medici* began to incline to an Election, but was not quite determined as to the Perſon he would have choſen. But it happened one Morning in the Conclave that while a Scrutiny * was

A. D. 1522.

* When each Cardinal has put his Billet with the Name of the Perſon whom he has choſen into a Chalice, and it appears by theſe Billets that one Cardinal has got two Thirds of the Votes, ſuch a one is then ſaid to be elected by Scrutiny. But there are two other Ways of electing a Pope, which are by Acceſs and Adoration; By Acceſs is when the Election is made by a Concurrence of Voices without writing in Billets. By way of Adoration is when two Thirds of the Cardinals without expecting a Scrutiny come to ſalute and adore a Perſon as Pope.

A. D. 1522. was making according to Cuſtom, there was propoſed *Adrian* Cardinal of *Tortoſa*, by Nation a *Fleming*, but who had been a Tutor to *Cæſar* in his Childhood, and by his Means promoted by *Leo* to the Cardinalſhip, and was at that Time *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant in *Spain*. But tho' the Propoſal was made without an Inclination in any one to agree to his Election, and only to waſte away the Morning, yet ſome Votes beginning to appear in his Favour, the Cardinal of *San Siſto* took occaſion to make an Harangue in Praiſe of his excellent Qualities and Learning, on which he enlarged almoſt without ceaſing till he had induced ſome of the Cardinals to yield to his Reaſons, and then the reſt, one after another, more by Impulſe than Deliberation, followed their Example. Thus was *Adrian*, by the unanimous Conſent of the whole Conclave, that Morning elected Sovereign Pontiff, the very Perſons who had choſe him not knowing how to give a Reaſon why they had, in ſo troubleſome and dangerous a Situation of the State of the Church, elected for Pope a Barbarian, abſent in a far

Pope *Adrian* VI

far diſtant Country, one who had not either by paſt Favours, Merit or Converſation, ingratiated himſelf with any of the other Cardinals, who hardly knew him by Name, and one who had never ſeen *Italy*, or had any Thoughts or Hopes of ſeeing it. The ſacred College having no Reaſon to offer in Juſtification of ſo extraordinary a Step, excuſed themſelves by transferring the Cauſe on the Holy Ghoſt, who is wont, as they ſaid, to inſpire the Hearts of the Cardinals in the Election of Popes. *Adrian* received the News of his Election at *Vittoria*, a City of *Biſcay*, on which Advice he would aſſume no other Name than what he had before, but paſſed under the Denomination of *Adrian* the Sixth. A. D. 1522.

A CHANGE being effected in the State of *Perugia*, after the Troops had for ſome Days remained unactive with conſiderable Prejudice to their other Deſigns, the Duke of *Urbino* and the other Commanders, intending to make Collections of Money from their Friends, marched away from *Perugia* and *Todi*, to which

A. D. 1522. laſt Place *Camillo Orſino* had reſtored the Exiles, and leaving *Malateſta* in *Perugia* advanced with great Speed towards *Siena*. They were attended by *Lattantio Petrucci*, whom *Leo* had deprived of the Biſhopric of *Soana*, becauſe *Borgheſe* and *Fabio*, Sons of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, had been forbidden by the Imperial Miniſters to depart out of *Naples*. In *Siena* the Regency had no other Hopes than in procuring the Aſſiſtance of the *Florentines* by means of the Correſpondence which they held with the Cardinal *de' Medici*. At his Inſtances thoſe of his Party who governed the State of *Florence* in his Abſence, as ſoon as they heard that the Duke was marched from *Perugia* immediately ordered to *Siena Guido Vaina* with One Hundred light Horſe, and Money to raiſe an additional Body of Foot to thoſe which had been liſted by the *Seneſe*. But their principal Dependance was on the Forces which had been provided many Days before; for as ſoon as they had been informed of the firſt Motion of the Duke of *Urbino* and the *Baglioni*, being under Concern for the Affairs of *Tuſcany* they had treated of

of taking into Pay the *Swiſs* of the Canton of *Bern*, who to the Number of above One Thouſand had ſtopped with the Biſhop of *Piſtoia* at *Cologna*, deſpiſing the Orders they had received from their Superiors to return to *Swiſſerland*. The Negotiation of this Treaty, tho' on account of many Difficulties raiſed by the Biſhop of *Piſtoia*, who was deſirous of preſenting theſe Troops to the future Pope, it was ſpun out to a greater Length than Neceſſity required, was at laſt concluded at a very great Expence; there were beſide taken into Pay an additional Number of Four Hundred *German* Foot which had joined with the *Swiſs* in *Bologna*. They had alſo called *Giovanni de' Medici* from *Lombardy*, and did not doubt but with theſe Succours, provided they arrived in due Seaſon, to ſecure the Affairs of *Siena*; which were however in a very dangerous Situation, becauſe the greater Part of the People were Enemies to the preſent Government, and out of their antient Hatred of the *Florentines* were univerſally diſſatisfied, and could not with Patience endure that their Troops ſhould enter *Siena*. And

A. D. 1522.

A. D. 1522. the Danger was increaſed by the Abſence of Cardinal *Petrucci*, and tho' his Nephew *Franceſco*, who ſupplied his Place, did all that was in his Power to ſupport the Adminiſtration, his Authority had not ſo much Weight as that of the Cardinal. As ſoon therefore as the Duke of *Urbino* had entered the Territory of *Siena*, the *Seneſe* ſent, without Controul from the chief Men of the City, who were intent on making their Flight, and on avoiding, at any Rate, the preſent Danger, Ambaſſadors to enter into a Treaty with him. The Duke at firſt inſiſted on an Alteration in the Government and Thirty Thouſand Ducats, but afterwards moderated his Demands in ſuch a Manner as made it ſtrongly apprehended that either by Conſent of thoſe in the Regency, or by ſome Movement of the People contrary to the Magiſtracy's Intentions, ſome Compoſition would be made between the Duke and the *Seneſe*. But when the *Florentine* Troops continued to enter *Siena*, and a Report was ſpread that *Giovanni de' Medici* was not far off with the *Swiſs*, thoſe who were averſe to an Agreement were the more encouraged to

to prevent its being brought to a Conclu- *A. D.* 1522.
ſion. So that when the Duke approached the Walls of *Siena*, having no more than Seven Thouſand Men in his Army, and thoſe collected of all Sorts, after ſtaying a Day the Hopes of an Accommodation diminiſhing, and the *Swiſs* approaching within a Days Journey, he decamped from before *Siena* in order to return to his own Dutchy. The ſame Troops that had ſuccoured *Siena* now turned their March towards *Perugia*, the *Florentines* laying hold on the Opportunity to gratify their own eager Deſires from the Sollicitations of the College of Cardinals, by whoſe Authority the State of the Church is governed in the Abſence of a Pope, for which Reaſon the Cardinal of *Cortona*, who had been Legate of *Perugia* ſince the Time of *Leo*, marched in Perſon with the Army.

Duke of *Urbino* miſcarries before *Siena*.

BUT the College ſhewed no more Union nor Conſtancy after the Creation of the Pontiff than they had done in the Conclave, on the contrary they varied more than ever. For they had appointed

A. D. 1522. that each Month the Adminiſtration of Affairs ſhould be in the Hands of three Cardinals under the Name of Priors, whoſe Office was to aſſemble the others, and to give Orders for the Execution of the Reſolutions. Three then of thoſe who had newly entered on their Office, and oppoſed the Cardinal *de' Medici*, who immediately after the Election of a Pope had returned to *Florence*, began to exclaim againſt the *Florentines* for moleſting the Towns of the Church, for they had plundered the Town of *Paſſignano* for refuſing to give them Quarters, and afterwards took up their Quarters at *Oimo* three Miles from *Perugia* in almoſt certain Hopes of getting Poſſeſſion of that City, and would have deſpiſed the Orders of the Priors if they had not ſoon diſcovered that their Hopes were ill grounded. For the *Baglioni* had got into *Perugia* a great Number of Soldiers, and their Authority with the People was much greater than that of *Gentile* who followed the Army. Deſpairing therefore of Succeſs, and having in vain attempted a Compoſition, they quitted the *Perugine*, under a Pretence that

Deſign of the *Florentines* on *Perugia* fruſtrated.

that they had no Intention to reſiſt the Will of the College, and entered into the *Monte Feltro*, which except *San Leo* and the Caſtle of *Maivolo*, had returned in Subjection to the Duke of *Urbino*, who having eaſily recovered it, there was a Ceſſation of Arms as it were by tacit Conſent on that Side: For the Duke was not potent enough to continue the War againſt the *Florentines*, nor had that People any Reaſon, either for their own Profit or for the Satisfaction of others, to moleſt the Duke, becauſe the College, of whom the Adverſaries of the Cardinal *de' Medici* were the ſtrongeſt Party, had at the ſame time agreed with the Duke that he ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of his recovered State till the Arrival of the Pontiff in *Italy*, and afterwards during the Pope's Pleaſure, on condition that he ſhould not moleſt the *Florentines* nor *Seneſe*, nor enter into the Service of any Prince nor any ways aſſiſt him. *A. D.* 1522.

THE Affairs of *Lombardy* had hitherto proceeded in a peaceable Courſe, through the Want of Men on one Side, and of

A. D. 1522. Money on the other. Wherefore the Imperial Troops refuſing to move out of their Quarters before they were paid, *Giovanni da Saſſatello* only with his own Regiment, and with the other Soldiers and Subjects of the Dutchy of *Milan*, was ordered to lay Siege to *Aleſſandria*. That Officer in the Beginning of the War had exchanged a certain Benefit for uncertain Hopes, by quitting the Service of the *Venetians* and entering into the Pay of the Duke of *Milan*, while he was yet an Exile from his State. On his Approach to *Aleſſandria* the Raſhneſs of the *Guelfs* of that Place, by whom it was defended more than by the *French* Soldiers, facilitated what all had accounted a difficult Enterpriſe. For proving too weak to ſuſtain the Shock of the Enemy upon whom they had ſallied in order to ſkirmiſh, they gave them an Opportunity to enter with them promiſcuouſly into the City, which was pillaged by the Conquerors. And a few Days after with the ſame Facility were ſome *French* Troops driven out of *Aſti*, into which City they had been introduced by

Aleſſandria taken by the Forces of the League.

by ſome of the *Guelf* Faction belonging to the Place. *A. D.* 1522.

BUT now this ſhort and dubious State of Tranquility appeared but as a Prelude to very great Diſorders; for though there had been very warm Debates in the Diets of the *Swiſs* on the Demands of the King of *France*, the Cantons of *Zurich* and *Schnitz* being obſtinately bent againſt him, and that of *Lucern* wholly diſpoſed in his Favour, the other Cantons divided among themſelves, and the Affairs of the Public confounded by the Avarice of private Men, many of whom demanded of the King ſome Penſions, ſome old Debts, yet they had at laſt granted the Foot demanded for the Recovery of the Dutchy of *Milan*. *Swiſs* grant Troops to the *French*. Theſe Troops, in Number above Ten Thouſand, were already on their Deſcent into *Lombardy* by the Mountains of *San Bernardino* and *San Gòtardo*, under the Conduct of the Baſtard of *Savoy*, and of *Galeazzo da San Severino*, this the Grand Ecuyer, and the other the Grand Maſter of *France*. To provide againſt this Movement *Cæſar* having borrowed a large Sum of

A. D. 1522. of Money of the King of *England*, who had renounced his Friendſhip with the *French*, had ordered to *Trent Girolamo Adorno*, with a Commiſſion to raiſe Six Thouſand *German* Foot, and to conduct them, together with the Perſon of *Franceſco Sforza*, to *Milan*. The Preſence of *Sforza* was at that Time reckoned of great Moment for keeping the more ſecure Poſſeſſion of *Milan* and of the other Towns of the State, which highly deſired him, and to facilitate the raiſing of Money, of which there was an extreme Want, by virtue of his Favour and Authority. At the ſame time the Proviſion made by *Cæſar* being unknown at *Milan*, the *Milaneſe* had ſent Money to *Trent* for raiſing Four Thouſand Foot, which being in Readineſs at *Adorno*'s Arrival there he immediately put himſelf in Motion with them, while the other Six Thouſand were in Levy, towards *Milan*, by the Valley of the *Valtelina* that leads to *Como*. But the *Griſons* refuſing them Paſſage they ſuddenly turned their Way into their Territory of *Bergamo*, and from thence to the *Ghiaradadda* with ſuch Speed that the *Venetian* Officers who were

in

in *Bergamo* had no Time to prevent them; and after they had made their Way to *Milan* they returned with the ſame Expedition to *Trent*, for conducting *Franceſco Sforza* and the other Troops to *Milan*. In this City, beſides other Proviſions, vaſt Pains were taken to increaſe the Hatred of the People, which was very great, againſt the *French*, that they might with the greater Alacrity be ready to ſtand upon their Defence, and be ready to relieve the public Neceſſities out of their own private Purſes. This Deſign was greatly promoted by counterfeit Letters, by falſe Meſſages, and by many other Arts and Inventions owing to the Induſtry and Cunning of *Marone*. *A. D.* 1522.

A Preaching Friar.

BUT theſe Meaſures were yet more aſſiſted, and even beyond Belief, by the Preaching of *Andrea Barbato*, an *Auſtin* Friar, who in his Sermons, ſurrounded by a vaſt Concourſe of People, exhorted the Citizens in moſt pathetic Strains to ſtand upon their own Defence, ſince it had pleaſed God to grant them the Power to free themſelves from the Yoke of the Barbarians,

A. D. 1522. Barbarians, who had been the greateſt Enemies to that City. He alledged the Example of *Parma*, a ſmall and weak City in compariſon of *Milan*: He ſet before them the Examples of their Anceſtors, who had made their Name glorious thro' all *Italy*: He ſhewed them the Duty incumbent on all Men to exert their utmoſt for the Preſervation of their Country, for the Sake of which if Heathens, who expected no other Reward than Fame, freely expoſed themſelves to Death, how great is the Obligation laid upon Chriſtians, to whom, if they die in ſo pious a Work, is propoſed, beſides the Glory and Honour of this World, an immortal Life in the Kingdom of Heaven! They ſhould conſider with themſelves, he told them, the Deſtruction that muſt be brought on that City by the Succeſs of the *French*, from whom, if they had before, without any Cauſe, met with ſuch bitter and vexatious Treatment, what muſt they now expect when they thought themſelves highly offended and injured? No Puniſhments that could be inflicted on the People of *Milan* would be ſufficient to ſatisfy their Cruelty

and

and immenſe Hatred, not all the Subſtance of that City would be reckoned enough to ſatiate their Avarice, and they would never reſt contented without the utter Extinction of the very Name and Memory of the *Milaneſe*, and making them an horrible Example ſurpaſſing the ſavage Barbarity of *Frederic Barbaroſſa*. By this Means the Hatred of the People of *Milan* againſt the *French*, and the Dread of their Succeſs were worked up to ſuch a Height that it became neceſſary rather to moderate than to provoke them. A. D. 1522.

In the mean time *Proſpero* attended with vaſt Diligence to the Reparation of the Baſtions, and Ramparts of the Ditches, and putting them in a good State of Defence, with an Intention to ſtay in *Milan*, where, though the Six Thouſand *Germans* ſhould not arrive, he was in Hopes to maintain himſelf for ſome Months. At the ſame time, neglecting the Care of other Towns, he had ordered *Filippo Torniello* to *Novara*, and *Monſignorino Viſconti* to *Aleſſandria*, one with Two Thouſand, and the other with Fifteen Hundred

A. D. 1522. dred *Italian* Foot, who, becauſe they were not paid, lived on the People. To *Pavia* he ſent *Antonio da Leva* with Two Thouſand *German* and a Thouſand *Italian* Foot, and kept with him in *Milan* Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Seven Hundred light Horſe, and Twelve Thouſand Foot. The City ſtill remained in imminent Danger of being entered by the *French* from the Caſtle; to prevent which, and by the ſame Expedient to deprive them of the Power of putting Victuals, or other Kinds of Proviſions into the Caſtle, he ſet about a Work highly celebrated for its Invention, and in the Opinion of the Public almoſt ſtupendous. For without the Caſtle, between the Gates that lead to *Vercelli* and to *Como* he cauſed to be dug two Trenches, and raiſed of the Earth taken out of each of them a Bank, diſtant one from another about Twenty Paces, and extending about a Mile acroſs ſo much of the Garden behind the Caſtle as lies between the two ſaid Roads: And at each of the Heads of the Trenches he erected a very high and ſtrong Cavalier, in order to plant Artillery on them for annoying the

the Enemy if they approached on that Side. Theſe Trenches and Ramparts were guarded by Parties of Foot lodged in the Midſt of them, and who at the ſame time prevented all Succours from entering the Caſtle, and all Egreſs of the Beſieged. That this Invention ſhould prove no leſs happy than it was ingenious, Fortune was pleaſed to demonſtrate with a lucky Omen in the Beginning by granting that it ſhould be put in Execution without any Loſs. For *Proſpero*, improving the Favour of Heaven, in a very deep Snow, ordered two Banks of it to be thrown up before Day, reſembling thoſe of which he deſigned to make Ramparts, and which ſecured the Workmen from being annoyed by the Artillery of the Caſtle*. And it happened, very ſeaſonably for bringing theſe Works to Perfection, that the vaſt Quanties of Snow which covered the Mountains retarded the Paſſage of the *Swiſs*. *A. D.* 1522.

At this Juncture *Lautrech*, having with ſome Troops ſent over the *Po* ſurpriſed

* It was uſual with the Northern People, as we are told by *Olaus Magnus*, to erect Forts, Redoubts and other Fortifications of Ice.

A. D. 1522. priſed the Regiment of light Horſe of *Luigi da Gonzaga* in *Fiorenzuola*, who were found careleſsly aſleep, reviewed his Forces; and thoſe of the *Venetians* under *Andrea Gritti* and *Teodora da Trivulzi* aſſembled themſelves about *Cremona*. Theſe Troops being at length joined by the *Swiſs* paſſed the River *Adda* on the firſt Day of *March*, the chief Command of the Army being ſettled on *Lautrech*, whoſe Authority ſuffered no Derogation by the Arrival of the Grand Maſter and the Grand Ecuyer. At the ſame time arrived in this Army *Giovanni de' Medici*, who had cloſely treated about entering into the Service of *Franceſco Sforza*, and had now ſet out intending for *Milan* where his Preſence was heartily deſired on account of the mighty Expectations from his Valour. Being ſtimulated, however, by the greater and more certain Pay of the King of *France*, and alledging that the Money promiſed him had not been ſent from *Milan*; he marched out of the Territory of *Parma*, where he had plundered the Town of *Buſſeto* for refuſing him Quarters, and paſſed to the *French* Camp, which lay two

two Miles from the Caſtle of *Milan* between the Roads to *Vercelli* and *Como*. A. D. 1521.

French Army before Milan.

The Army, on the third Day after their Arrival, moved in Order of Battle, and made a Show as if they intended to attack the Ramparts, but did not put it in Execution, either becauſe *Lautrech* had no ſuch Intention at firſt, or becauſe having conſidered the Number of Soldiers that were in the Place, the Diſpoſition of the People, and the Alacrity of the Defendants, he was deterred by the manifeſt Difficulties attending the Enterpriſe. The ſame Day *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, a General Officer in high Reputation, and *Camillo Trivulzio*, a natural Son of *Gianjacopo*, were killed by the Stones of a Houſe that was ſhattered by the Artillery from the Town, as they were paſſing together near that Houſe, and giving Orders for erecting a Cavalier that ſhould play with its Cannon between the two Ramparts of the Enemy. But *Lautrech*, having no Hopes of taking *Milan* by Force, imagined that he ſhould obtain the Conqueſt of it by Length of Time; and conſidering that by the Multitude of his Forces,

A. D. 1522. and the great Number of Fugitives that followed him, he had the Liberty of making Excurſions through the greateſt Part of the Country, and by that means of giving ſufficient Obſtruction to the Conveyance of Proviſions into the Town, had cauſed all the Mills to be broken, and the Water to be turned out of the Canals by which the Place received its chief Supplies. He was in Hopes alſo that the Troops in Garriſon would come to want their Pay, ſince they ſubſiſted on the Money advanced by the *Milaneſe*, for they received but very ſmall Remittances from *Cæſar*, and from the Kingdom of *Naples* and other Places. But ſo inveterate was the Hatred of the People of *Milan* to the Name of the *French* and ſo ardent their Deſires of the new Duke, that enduring with Patience every Inconvenience they not only perſiſted in their Reſolution in ſpite of ſo many Vexations, but put the Youth of the City in Arms, and elected in each Pariſh a Captain, aſſiſting with the greateſt Readineſs in mounting the Guard both Day and Night in Places remote from the Army, to the great Relief

of

of the Soldiers in their Fatigues; and the Deſtruction of the Mills at this Time occaſioning a Want of Meal, they ſoon provided againſt this Inconvenience by erecting Mills that worked without Water. *A. D.* 1522.

THE State of the War thus changing from the Hopes of a ſpeedy Conqueſt to the Cares and Fatigues of a tedious Blockade, the Duke of *Milan*, whoſe Departure had been for many Days delayed for Want of Money, and would have been deferred much longer if the Cardinal *de' Medici* had not aſſiſted him with Nine Thouſand Ducats, ſet out at laſt from *Trent* with Six Thouſand *German* Foot, and ſeizing on the Caſtle of *Croata* ſubject to the *Venetians*, in order to open himſelf a Paſſage, proceeded without Oppoſition through the *Veroneſe*, and from thence through the *Mantouan*, and paſſing the *Po* at *Caſal Maggiore* arrived at *Piacenza*, from whence, being attended by the Marquis of *Mantoua* with Three Hundred Men at Arms of the Church, he removed to *Pavia* where he reſted, watching

Duke of *Milan* arrives at *Pavia*.

A. D. 1522. watching all Opportunities that might favour his Paſſage to *Milan* where his Arrival was extremely deſired, becauſe the Methods uſed for raiſing Money to maintain the Soldiers becoming every Day leſs effectual, it was judged neceſſary to join as ſoon as poſſible with the *Germans*, in order to take the Field, and endeavour to bring the War to an Iſſue. But the Difficulty lay in finding a Paſſage. For as ſoon as *Lautrech* had Advice of the Duke's Arrival at *Piacenza*, he removed his Camp to *Caſino* five Miles diſtant from *Milan* on the Road to *Pavia*, having ordered the *Venetians* to *Rinaſco* on the ſame Road, both Armies being ſtrongly intrenched. After they had remained in this Situation for ſome Days, making themſelves Maſters in the mean time of *Sant' Angelo* and *San Columbano*, *Lautrech* received Advice that his Brother *L'Eſcud* who had returned with Money from *France*, whither he had gone to repreſent to the King the State of Affairs, after inliſting ſome Foot at *Genoa*, was arrived in the State of *Milan*. On this he ordered *Federigo da Bozzolo* to join him with Four Hundred

Hundred Lances, and Seven Thouſand *Swiſs* and *Italian* Foot. The Marquis of *Mantoua* having Notice of their Coming, marched out of *Pavia* to *Gambalo* in order to oppoſe them. But either becauſe the Enemy made a Feint, as he ſaid himſelf, of retiring towards the *Teſino*, and therefore he thought his Stay at *Gambalo* no longer neceſſary, or as I rather believe, becauſe he was afraid of them, ſince their Number appeared greater than it had been reported, he marched back to *Pavia*. But *Federigo* advanced to *Gambalo*, and joining *L'Eſcud* they proceeded together to *Novara*, and with the Artillery taken from the Caſtle, which held out for the *French*, battered the Town, and took it by Force at the third Aſſault, in which the greateſt Part of the Garriſon were killed, and *Filippo Torniello* remained Priſoner. On the firſt Notice of this Misfortune the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who had been ſollicited by Letters and frequent Meſſages from *Torricello* to come to his Relief, and was again marched from *Pavia*, drew his Troops out of *Vigevano*, A. D. 1522.

A. D. 1522. leaving only a Garriſon in the Caſtle, and returned to *Pavia*.

THE Conjunction with *L'Eſcud*, and the Acquiſition of *Novara* by the *French* turned to their Prejudice in a Caſe of more Importance, ſince it facilitated the March of *Franceſco Sforza* with the *German* Infantry to *Milan*. The Duke, as he had appointed with *Proſpero*, one Night with great Secreſy departed from *Pavia*, leaving for its Defence Two Thouſand Foot and Three Hundred Horſe under the Command of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, who unwilling to remove at ſo great a Diſtance from the State of the Church refuſed to proceed any further, and marching by a different Road from the direct was heartily received at *Seſto* by *Proſpero*, who had gone out with Part of the Troops to meet him, and conducted to *Milan*. He was received with inexpreſſible Joy by the People, every one on this Occaſion reviving in Memory the lively Idea of the happy Times that paſſed during the Adminiſtration of the Duke's Father, and of the other Dukes of

Duke joyfully received at *Milan*.

of *Milan* his Predeceſſors of the Name of *Sforza*, and they were paſſionately deſirous to have a Prince of their own, as one who would be a greater Lover of his People, more obliged to reſpect and pay a greater Regard to his Subjects, and not deſpiſe them on account of his immoderate Greatneſs. *A. D.* 1522.

THE Departure of the Duke from *Pavia* put *Lautrech* in Hopes of making himſelf Maſter of that City, wherefore he aſſembled his Army with all Expedition, and laid Siege to it. On the other Side *Proſpero* knowing the manifeſt Danger of the Place detached thither with utmoſt Speed One Thouſand *Corſican* and ſome *Spaniſh* Foot, who arriving near the *French* Camp, and falling ſuddenly into their Quarters, made their Way through it, partly by fighting, partly by marching, and after killing many of the Enemy got ſafe into *Pavia*, where beſides other Inconvenience was a Want of Gunpowder. *Lautrech* in the mean time erected two Batteries againſt the Walls of *Pavia*, one at the Suburb of *Santa Maria in Portica*, towards the *Teſino*, and the *Lautrech beſieges Pavia in vain.*

A. D. 1522. other at *Borgoratto*, and having made a Breach of thirty Braces he gave an Aſſault, but in vain. Perceiving therefore the Beſieged to keep themſelves well on their Guard, and diſpoſed to defend themſelves, he began to deſpair of the Enterpriſe. He had many other Difficulties alſo to encounter; for the Money which his Brother had brought with him from *France* already began to fail, and there was no ſmall Scarcity of Proviſions occaſioned by the heavy Rains which rendered their Conveyance by the *Teſino* very difficult, for the Boats were inſufficient to bear up againſt the ſwelling Waters of the River, and were by no means capable of ſtemming the Violence of its Courſe.

Prospero at this Time having marched with all his Army out of *Milan* in order to approach *Pavia*, was prevented by the ſame Rains, and obliged to ſtop at *Binaſco* in the Midway between *Milan* and *Pavia*, from whence he afterwards advanced to the Charterhouſe, ſituated in the Park five Miles from *Pavia*, and the moſt beautiful Monaſtery perhaps in all *Italy*.

Italy. *Lautrech*, in Deſpair of taking *Pavia*, drew off his Army and retired to *Landriano*, without Moleſtation from the Enemy in his Decampment, except in ſome light Skirmiſhes. From *Landriano* he advanced to *Moncia*, for the better ſecuring to himſelf a Sum of Money, which had been ſent from *France*, and was lodged at *Arona*, becauſe *Anchiſe Viſconti*, who was ſent from *Milan* to *Buſto* near *Arona* on purpoſe to ſtop it, had prevented it from being forwarded. This Difficulty brought the Affairs of the *French* into the utmoſt Diſorder; for the *Swiſs*, whoſe Pay had now been delayed for many Days, growing impatient according to Cuſtom, ſent their Officers to *Lautrech* with grievous Complaints that the Troops of their Nation, which had on all Occaſions been laviſh of their Blood for the Advancement of the Crown of *France*, ſhould, contrary to all Juſtice, be reduced to Neceſſity for want of their due Payments; and that ſuch Avarice and Ingratitude were a Demonſtration to all the World how little they were valued and eſteemed for their Valour and Fidelity: That

A. D. 1522.

Impatience of the *Swiſs*.

A. D. 1522. That it was their Reſolution, ſince they had waited ſo many Days in vain, to tarry no longer in Expectation of any Term, nor truſt to Promiſes which had been ſo often repeated, and as often failed. They were therefore abſolutely determined to return to their Habitations, after they had firſt manifeſted to the World that they were not induced to this Reſolution by a Fear of the Enemy who had taken the Field, nor from a Deſire of avoiding the Dangers to which military Men are ſubject, and which they always deſpiſed, according to the well known Character of the *Swiſs*, verified by ſo many Trials. They therefore ſignified to him that they were ready to fight a Battle the next Day with an Intention to depart the Day after: That he ſhould lead them to find out the Enemy, and lay hold of the Opportunity given him by their Readineſs, and put them in the Front of the Army. That they did not doubt that ſince they had with a much ſmaller Force than they had at preſent conquered the *French* Army in their Intrenchments near *Novara*, they ſhould carry Victory with

with them into the Camp of the *Spaniards*, who, tho' they excelled the *French* in artful Stratagems, and laying Snares, they did not imagine ſuperior to them in the open Field, where the Fight was to be managed by Stoutneſs of Heart, and Force of Arms. *Lautrech*, conſidering how dangerous it was to go and attack the Enemy in their ſtrong Camp endeavoured to moderate their Indignation, aſſuring them that the Supplies of Money were retarded not by any Neglect in the King, but from the Danger of the Conveyance, but that they would however certainly arrive within a very few Days. But neither his Authority nor Reaſons, nor Prayers nor Promiſes were ſufficient to convince or ſtop them. He determined therefore, eſpecially as they were to be foremoſt in the Danger, rather to run the Hazard of a Battle under great Diſadvantage, than abſolutely ruine the War by refuſing to fight, which, it was manifeſt, would be the Event, ſince the *Swiſs* had reſolved, if he did not comply, to decamp and be gone.

A. D. 1522.

THE

A. D. 1522.

THE Enemy's Army was encamped at *Bicocca*, a Villa about three Miles diſtant from *Milan*, on which was a pretty large Houſe ſurrounded with ſpacious Gardens, which were bounded by deep Ditches. The circumjacent Fields are full of Fountains and Rivulets, which have their Courſe directed, according to the Cuſtom in *Lombardy*, for watering the Meadows. Towards this Place *Lautrech* marched with the Army, and judging that the Enemy who were ſo ſtrongly poſted would make a ſtout Defence, he ordered the Attack in the following Manner: The *Swiſs* with the Artillery were to Aſſault the Front of the Camp, and the Artillery of the Enemy, which Poſt was guarded by the *German* Infantry under the Command of *George Fronaſperge*: On the Left *L'Eſcud* with Three Hundred Lances and a Body of *French* and *Italian* Foot was directed to advance by the Way that leads from *Milan* towards the Bridge that gives an Entrance into the Enemy's Camp, and the General took upon himſelf the Charge of attempting to enter the Entrenchments

trenchments with a Body of Horſe rather by Stratagem than by open Force; for in order to deceive the Enemy he ordered every Horſeman to put a red Croſs upon his Cloak which was the Mark of the Imperialiſts, inſtead of the white Croſs, which was the Badge of the *French* Army. On the other Side *Proſpero Colonna*, who from the Strength of his Situation aſſured himſelf of the Victory, and therefore reſolved to expect, as he ſaid, the Enemy at the Ditch, as ſoon as he perceived their Coming put his Men in Order, and aſſigning to every one his Poſt, immediately ſent Orders for *Franceſco Sforza* with the armed Multitude of the People to haſten without Delay to the Army. The Duke having aſſembled, at the Sound of a Bell, Four Hundred Horſe, and Six Thouſand Foot, was, as ſoon as he arrived, appointed by *Proſpero* to guard the Bridge. But the *Swiſs*, on approaching the Camp, tho' by the Depth of the Ditches, which proved greater than they had imagined, they were prevented from attacking the Artillery, which was their firſt Hopes, were not in the leaſt daunted on that Account,

A. D. 1522.

Action at *Bicocca*.

A. D. 1522. Account, but with great Fierceneſs attacked the Ditch, and did all that was poſſible to paſs it. At the ſame time *L'Eſcud* advancing to attack the Bridge found it ſo ſtrongly guarded, contrary to his Expectations, that he was forced to retire. *Proſpero* alſo quickly diſcovered the Artifice of *Lautrech*, and ordering his Men to put Twiſts of green Corn and Graſs on the their Heads by that Means eluded his Stratagem. Hence the whole Brunt of the Battle was ſuſtained by the *Swiſs*, who from the Diſadvantage of the Ground, and the Valour of the Defendants fatigued themſelves to no Purpoſe, receiving very conſiderable Loſs not only from thoſe with whom they fought in Front, but from a large Body of *Spaniſh* Muſqueteers, who being concealed among the Corn, which was almoſt ripe, terribly galled them in Flank, till at laſt they payed the Price of their Raſhneſs with their Blood, being conſtrained to retreat with great Slaughter. They then joined the *French*, and all in a Body together with the Troops in Order, and with the Artillery, returned to *Moncia*, without

out ſuſtaining any Loſs in their Retreat. *A. D.* 1522.
The Marquis of *Peſcara* and the other Generals were importunate with *Proſpero* that ſince he ſaw the Enemy had turned their Backs he would give the Signal for the Troops to follow them; but the General believing, as the Truth was, that they retired in good Order, and not in manner of a Flight, and being the more aſſured of it by the Report of thoſe who by his Orders had climbed ſome high Trees, conſtantly anſwered that he would not entruſt again in the Power of Fortune the Victory which he had indiſputably obtained, nor by his own Raſhneſs cancel the Memory of that of others. "To-morrow, ſays he, will clearly manifeſt this Day's Work, for the Enemies being come to a better Feeling of their Wounds when grown cool, will loſe their Courage and paſs the Mountains, by which means we ſhall obtain without Danger what to day you would have me attempt at our Peril." There were killed of the *Swiſs* in and near the Ditch about Three Thouſand of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed for their Fierceneſs and Bravery were moſt forward

A. D. 1522. forward to expoſe themſelves to Danger, and among them two and twenty Officers. On the other Side very few were killed; and no Perſon of Note except *Giovanni di Cordona* Count of *Culiſano*, who received a Muſquet Shot through his Helmet.

THE next Day *Lautrech* in Deſpair of Succeſs, decamped from *Moncia*, in order to paſs the River *Adda* near *Trezzo*, where the *Swiſs* taking their Way through the Territory of *Bergamo*, returned to their Mountains, diminiſhed in Number, but more in Boldneſs; ſince it is certain that the Loſs they received at *Bicocca* humbled them to that Degree that for ſeveral Years afterwards they did not ſhew their accuſtomed Vigour. At the ſame time departed alſo the Grand Ecuyer and Grand Maſter, and many other *French* Officers. *Lautrech* with the Men at Arms betook himſelf to *Cremona*, to give Orders for the Defence of that Town, where he left his Brother, and a few Days after paſſed the Mountains, carrying back to his King not Victories or Triumphs, but a Juſtification of himſelf and Complaints

on

on others for the Loſs of ſo fine a State, occaſioned partly by his own Fault, partly through the Negligence and imprudent Counſels of thoſe who were about the King, and partly, if Truth may be ſpoken *, by the Malignity of Fortune. *Lautrech* alſo, before he left *Cremona*, gave Orders to *Bonneval* and *Federigo da Bozzolo* to march with Six Troops of Men at Arms and a ſufficient Number of Foot, and beſtow themſelves in Garriſon at *Lodi*, a City which in the whole Courſe of the War had held out for the King. For the *Cæſarean* Generals had been prevented from immediately turning their Arms againſt that Place by a Mutiny of the *German* Foot which had attended *Franceſco Sforza* from *Trent*. Theſe Troops demanded a Donative of a Month's Wages as a Reward for the Victory, by which Act they required, as the Generals ſaid, more than was their Due, for to defend one's ſelf againſt an Aſſault, and to overcome the Aggreſſor are two different Caſes; and it could not be ſaid that the

A. D. 1522.

* By this Expreſſion the Author ſeems unwilling to aſcribe any Part of the Glory to the *Italian* Army.

A. D. 1522. Enemies had been routed or overcome, ſince they retired, not running away, but with their Troops in good Order, and ſaving their Artillery and Baggage. But the Inſolence of the *Germans* prevailed over the Reaſons and Authority of the Generals, who were conſtrained at laſt to conſent, and to promiſe Payment within a certain Time. But ſeveral Days being ſpent in this Diſpute, it happened that on the ſame Day in which the *French* Lances entered the City of *Lodi*, their Foot advancing behind, the Imperial Army with the *Spaniſh* Infantry in Front under *Davalo* approached the Place on the other Side before the *French* had taken their Poſts, and while all Things were in a Hurry and Confuſion, as it happens when Men at Arms firſt enter a Town in order to take up their Quarters. The Marquis of *Peſcara* laying hold of the Opportunity with the utmoſt Speed aſſaulted a walled Suburb of the City, and carried it after a ſlight Defence, at which all the *French* that were in the City being terrified, becauſe their Foot were not as yet entered, betook themſelves to a diſorderly Flight

Flight towards the Bridge which they had laid over the *Adda*, and the *Spaniards* at the ſame time entering the City over the Walls and Ramparts purſued them to the River, taking Numbers of Soldiers in their Flight, and almoſt all the Officers except *Federigo da Bozzolo* and *Bonneval*, and in the ſame Career of Victory put the unhappy City to the Sack. *A. D.* 1522. *Lodi* ſacked by the Imperialiſts.

FROM *Lodi* the Marquis marched to *Pizzichitone* which ſurrendered to him on Articles, and ſoon after *Proſpero* with the whole Army paſſed the River *Adda*, in order to beſiege *Cremona*; but he had no ſooner approached that City than *L'Eſcud* inclined to come to an Agreement; for as he had no Hopes of maintaining himſelf but by the Coming of the Admiral, (whom the King, being deſirous to preſerve the Places that ſtill held out for him in that State, had ordered for *Italy* with Four Hundred Lances, and Ten Thouſand Foot) he might think that he had ſufficiently provided for his Affairs if, without running himſelf into Danger, he could at his Leiſure expect the Iſſue of that Offi-

A. D. 1522. cer's Arrival: And *Proſpero*, on the other ſide, was deſirous to make quick Diſpatch of the Affair of *Cremona* that he might attempt the Reſtoration of the Brothers *Adorni* to *Genoa* before the Arrival of the Enemy's Succours in *Italy*. It was agreed therefore that *L'Eſcud* ſhould in forty Days march out of *Cremona* with all his Men, their Colours flying, and with the Artillery, if within the ſaid Time, which would end on the twenty-firſt of *June*, there did not arrive ſuch Relief as ſhould force their Way over the *Po*, and take one of the Cities of the State of *Milan* which ſhould have a Garriſon. He engaged alſo to procure then that all the Places held by the King in the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhould be evacuated except the Caſtles of *Milan*, *Cremona*, and *Novara*, for the Obſervance of which Articles four Hoſtages were to be delivered; the Priſoners in the ſaid Caſe were to be reſtored on each Side, and the *French* ſhould have Leave granted them to paſs with their Artillery and Effects without Moleſtation into *France*.

Dutchy of *Milan* evacuated by the *French*.

THE

A. D. 1522.

THE Agreement being concluded, and the Hoſtages received, the *Cæſarean* Army immediately marched towards *Genoa*, which was approached in two Places, the Marquis of *Peſcara* with the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Infantry encamping on the Side of the *Codifaro*, and *Proſpero* with the Men at Arms and *German* Foot over againſt *Biſagna*. The City of *Genoa* was under the Government of *Ottaviano Fregoſo*, a Prince certainly of moſt excellent Parts, and for his Juſtice and other ſignal Endowments as much beloved in that City as it is poſſible for a Prince to be beloved in a Town full of Factions, and in which the Memory of their antient Liberty was not worn out of the Minds of the People. He had in his Pay Two Thouſand *Italian* Foot, on which alone he depended for his Defence; for the Inhabitants of the City being divided into Parties, though they ſaw before their Walls ſo potent an Army of Soldiers of ſo many different Languages, they ſtood idle Spectators of the Progreſs of the Enterpriſe with the ſame Unconcern and Indifference with which in Times paſt they

A. D. 1522. uſed to regard Turmoils of this Nature in which, without Danger or Damage to thoſe who did not take up Arms, the public Authority was transfered from one Family to another, without the Appearance of an Alteration, except that in the Ducal Palace reſided new Inhabitants, and new Officers and Soldiers kept Guard in the Square. At the firſt Approach of the Army to the Town the Doge immediately began to treat of an Agreement, and ſent out to the Generals *Benedetto Vivaldi* a *Genoeſe*. But the Negotiation was in ſome Meaſure checked by the Arrival of *Pietro Navarra*, who being ſent by the King of *France* with two light Galleys for the Security of *Genoa* entered the Port at the ſame time. But *Davalo* having begun to batter the Wall with the Artillery the Treaty for an Agreement was reſumed with greater Earneſtneſs, and now all Matters ſeemed to be ſettled, and no Difficulty remained, when the *Spaniards*, who had that Day battered a Tower near the Gate, the Garriſon being negligent of their Guard, in Hopes, perhaps, of an Accommodation, ſeized on it, and partly through

through that, and partly through the Breach in the Wall, began to enter the City, ſo that all that Part of the Army running thither, the Marquis put his Troops in Order, and having ſent Notice to *Proſpero* of the Succeſs, and giving the Signal, made his Way into the Town, where all the Soldiers and Citizens being intent ſome on flying, and others on ſhutting themſelves up in their Houſes, he met with no Reſiſtance. The Archbiſhop of *Salerno*, and the Captain of the Guards, with many of the Citizens and Soldiers got on board the Ships, and put out to Sea; the Doge, who could not move becauſe of his Infirmity, cauſed the Palace to be ſhut, and ſent to ſurrender himſelf to the Marquis, in whoſe Cuſtody not many Months after he died. *Pietro Navarra* was taken, and the whole Subſtance of the City became a Prey to the Conquerors. Many rich Families entered into Obligations ſome to one Company of Soldiers, and ſome to another, to pay them a great Sum of Money, for which they gave Security, either by Pawns, or Bills drawn upon Merchants, to ſave their Houſes from

A. D. 1522.

Genoa taken and plundered

A. D. 1522. Plunder; by this Means was preſerved the famous Baſon, which is kept with high Veneration in the Cathedral Church. The Plunder was ineſtimable in Plate, Jewels, Money, and coſtly Furniture, that City, by its extenſive Trade and Merchandiſing, being full of infinite Riches. So great a Calamity, however, was the leſs deplorable in ſome Reſpects becauſe through the Prayers of the Brothers *Adorni*, ſince the City had ſhewn no Sign of Hoſtility, and that an Agreement might be ſaid to have been concluded, the Generals took Care that no *Genoeſe* ſhould be made a Priſoner, and no Woman violated. *Antoniotto Adorno* was elected Doge, and as ſoon as the Army was marched away, with the Artillery lent him by the *Florentines* he laid Siege to the Caſtelletto; on the third Day he took the Citadel and the Church of *San Franceſco*, and the Day after the Caſtelletto was ſurrendered to him on certain Conditions by the Governor.

THE Change in *Genoa* entirely deprived the King of *France* of all Hopes that it would be in his Power to ſend Succours

Succours to *Lombardy*; for the Army lately ordered thither, after proceeding as far as the Territory of *Aſti*, was returned beyond the Mountains; and *L'Eſcud*, though he had exceeded the Terms on which he had agreed by ſome Days, on account of the Difficulties that aroſe concerning the Fortreſſes of *Trezzo*, *Lecco*, and *Domuſſolo*, yet as ſoon as they were removed he returned with his Troops into *France*, the Allies not only keeping their Faith inviolate with him, but cauſing him to be honourably received and entertained in every Place through which he paſſed.

A. D. 1522.

French return to their own Country.

BUT in the mean time, while theſe Events happened in *Lombardy*, the Troubles of that Country with the Abſence of the Pope, occaſioned ſome Diſturbances in *Bologna*, and much more in *Tuſcany*. In *Bologna*, *Annibale Bentivoglio* in Conjunction with *Annibale Rangone*, having privately got together about Four Thouſand Men, approached the Townone Morning by Break of Day with three Pieces of Cannon on the Side of the Mountains, and in deep

Attempt on *Bologna* fruitleſs

A. D. 1522. deep Silence, without being heard by the Watch, many of them paſſed the Ditch, and ſet up the Ladders againſt the Walls. But the People within the Place having received ſome Intelligence of their Coming the Day before, gave a Shout when they ſaw a proper time, and beginning to fire the Cannon, and to ſally out in great Numbers, they immediately betook themſelves to Flight, leaving their Artillery, and amongſt the Fugitives *Annibale Rangone* received a Wound in his Back Parts. It was almoſt taken for certain that the Cardinal *de' Medici* was privy to this Attempt, out of an Apprehenſion that the Pope, either of his own Head, or at the Inſtigation of others, would, as ſoon as he arrived in *Italy*, endeavour to diminiſh his Greatneſs, and therefore was deſirous of ſuch a Commotion in the Eccleſiatical State as muſt be excited by ſo great a Loſs, that the Pontiff might not only be neceſſitated to employ himſelf on other Affairs without perſecuting him, but alſo be conſtrained to have Recourſe to his Counſel and Aſſiſtance.

A. D. 1522.

BUT much more conſiderable and of longer Continuance were the Commotions and Dangers of *Tuſcany*; for ſcarce was the State of *Siena* ſecured from the Duke of *Urbino*, and the Affairs of *Perugia* and *Montefeltro* were hardly ſettled, when, by the Inſtigation of the Cardinal of *Volterra*, new Orders came from the King of *France*, that *Renzo*, who was then loitering away his Time in Idleneſs at *Rome*, ſhould attempt a Revolution in the State of *Florence*, by reſtoring to that City the Brothers and Nephews of the Cardinal of *Volterra*, who with all his Family were declared the Friends and Confederates of the King. The Expences neceſſary for the Expedition, the King at that Time being in great Straits for Want of Money, were to be defrayed by the Cardinal who received a Promiſe from the King to be reimburſed within a certain Term. While *Renzo* was preparing to put himſelf in Motion, the Affair coming to the Knowledge of the Cardinal *de' Medici*, his Fears that the Duke of *Urbino* ſhould alſo make ſome Movement obliged him to enter into an Agreement

War in *Tuſcany*.

A. D. 1522. Agreement that, without Prejudice to the Right which the *Florentines* and the Duke claimed to the Towns of *Montefeltro*, the Duke ſhould be Captain General of the *Florentine* Forces, for one Year certain, and for another Year at Pleaſure, and take upon him the Command the Beginning of the next *September*. For the ſame Reaſons the *Florentines* took into their Service *Oratio Baglione*, but on Condition that his Pay ſhould not begin till the Month of *June*, becauſe till that Time he was engaged to the *Venetians*. This Agreement was alſo made in the Name of his Brother *Malateſta*, but was never ratified by him, becauſe he had before received Money for joining *Renzo da Ceri* with Two Thouſand Foot and an Hundred light Horſe, and was neither willing openly to forfeit his Honour, nor on the other hand to provoke, by a new Offence, the Enmity of the Cardinal and of the *Florentines*. Wherefore feigning himſelf ſick, he ſent Word to *Renzo*, who was arrived at *Caſtel della Pieve* with Two Thouſand Foot, an Hundred light Horſe, and four Falconets, excuſing himſelf for not waiting on him in Perſon

Perſon on account of his Indiſpoſition: And he put the Cardinal in Hopes that he would take no more Money of the Enemies, but ratify the Agreement made for his entering into their Service, as ſoon as the Term for which he had been paid was expired, and that in the mean time he would proceed with all poſſible Moderation on thoſe Enterpriſes in which he could not refuſe to act on account of the Money that he had received. After this *Renzo* with Five Hundred Horſe and Seven Thouſand Foot entered the Territory of *Siena*, attended by the ſame Exiles who had followed the Duke of *Urbino*, in order to attempt a Change in that Government, in which if he ſhould ſucceed he did not doubt but to open himſelf a Way through that State into the Bowels of the *Florentine* Dominions, and obtain the ſame Succeſs in *Florence*. But on the other ſide the *Florentines* foreſeeing the Danger, and deſirous that the Enemy ſhould not approach *Siena*, had ſent all their Troops into the Territory of the *Seneſe* under *Guido Rangone*, who on that urgent Occaſion was elected Captain General of the Army. His

A. D. 1522.

A. D. 1522. His Intention was by all Means to temporiſe with the Enemies, and make them loſe their Time, ſince he knew that if they met with no proſperous Succeſs in the Beginning they would ſoon come to want Money, and at the ſame time he endeavoured as much as poſſible to cut them ſhort of Proviſions. Wherefore regulating his Motions according to the Progreſs of the Enemy, he attended to the Defence of thoſe Towns that lay neareſt to the Dominions of the *Seneſe* and *Florentines*, ſometimes in one Quarter ſometimes in another, in which ſhifting of the Soldiers from Place to Place it happened that *Vitello*'s Regiment of Horſe marching from *Torrito* to *Aſinalunga* fell in with Three Hundred Horſe of the Enemy, who charged and broke them, taking *Girolamo de' Peppoli*, *Vitello*'s Lieutenant, with Five and Twenty Men at Arms Priſoners, and carrying off two Colours.

Motions of *Renzo da Ceri*.

THE firſt Enterpriſe of *Renzo de Ceri* was directed againſt the City of *Chiuſi*, a Place more remarkable for its Antiquity, and the famous Exploits of its King *Porſenna*,

ſenna, than for its preſent State; but being baffled in his Attempt becauſe he had no other Artillery than four Falconets, which made it very difficult for him to become Maſter of Towns when garriſoned by regular Troops, he advanced more forwards between *Torrita* and *Aſindunga*, in order to approach *Siena*. But having in the Midſt of hoſtile Towns no Conveniency of Proviſions, he made an Attempt by Storm on the Caſtle of *Torrita*, which had a Garriſon of One Hundred Men at Arms of Count *Guido Rangone*, and about Fifteen Hundred Foot. From hence being repulſed he decamped and purſued his March to *Montelifre*, and from thence to *Bagno a Rapolano*, twelve Miles diſtant from *Siena*, in which City the *Florentines* had at the Beginning of theſe Movements, placed Count *Pitigliano* as Governor. But Count *Guido* by his good Intelligence and Speed diſconcerting all his Meaſures, entered the ſame Day into *Siena* with Two Hundred light Horſe, leaving behind him the Army, which followed him without ſtopping. Wherefore the Succours being ſo near at Hand, and

A. D. 1522.

A. D. 1522. and *Renzo* having loſt much of his Reputation in this Expedition among thoſe of his own Party as well as with his Enemies, and it being well known that he was reduced to great Straits for Want of Proviſions, the Malecontents in *Siena* who wanted a Change of Government were greatly dejected. *Renzo* however approached within Half a Mile of the Walls. But all Things remaining quiet in the Place without the leaſt Commotion, he went off after ſtaying a Day, and after his Departure the Troops of the *Florentines* on the ſame Day entered *Siena*; and tho' they put themſelves in Purſuit of him, yet deſpairing to overtake him, becauſe he was ſo far advanced, they left him to be purſued only by ſome light Horſe, and a certain Number of Foot which were in *Siena* before, and which did him but little Damage. But *Renzo* marched with ſuch Speed, his Pace being quickened perhaps by Hunger as much as by Fear, that he left his Artillery on the Road, which, to his great Diſgrace, came into the Power of the Enemy. He ſtopped at *Acquapendente*, in order to recruit his

his Forces, which were greatly diminiſhed, being perfectly ſecure becauſe he knew that the *Florentine* Troops would forbear out of Reſpect to enter the Dominions of the Church. But as he wanted Money, and the Cardinals of *Volterra*, of *Monte*, and of *Como*, with whom, by Order of the King of *France* he concerted his Meaſures, began to neglect him, he betook himſelf with thoſe few Troops he had left to ravage the maritime Parts belonging to *Siena*, where he gave an Aſſault to *Orbitello*, but was repulſed. Wherefore the *Florentines*, who had advanced with their Army as far as the Bridge of *Centina*, on the Borders of the State of *Siena* and of that of the Church, finding that *Renzo* did not diſband all his Forces, threatened to attack the Towns of the Eccleſiaſtic Dominions. On this the College of Cardinals, who were uneaſy at ſeeing the Flames of this Combuſtion likely to get Hold of the Eccleſiaſtical State, interpoſed for making an Agreement, which was equally acceptable to both Parties: To the *Florentines* becauſe it eaſed them of thoſe Expences A. D. 1522.

A. D. 1522. from which they reaped no manner of Advantage; to *Renzo da Ceri* becauſe he found himſelf but ſlenderly provided, and without Hopes of aſſembling greater Forces, eſpecially as the *French* Intereſt was on the Decline in *Lombarby*. The Convention contained no other Articles than only a Promiſe between the *Saneſe* and *Florentines* on one Side, and *Renzo* on the other, to commit no Hoſtilities againſt each other, for the Performance of which Security was given in *Rome* of Fifty Thouſand Ducats, and as to the Plunder that had been taken both Parties referred themſelves to the Declaration of the Pope after his Arrival in *Italy*.

Peace concluded

The ſame Winter happened a dangerous Accident in *Lucca*; for *Vicenzo di Poggio*, of a noble Family, and *Lorenzo Totti*, under Colour of private Differences, but incited perhaps much more by Ambition and Poverty, took up Arms, and aſſaſſinated the Gonfalonier of that City in the public Palace, and afterwards ranging over the Town murdered ſome other Citizens who were their Adverſaries, creating

creating ſo univerſal a Terror that none had the Courage to oppoſe them. However when the firſt Fury was abated, thoſe who had terrified others began to be under Apprehenſions for their own Safety, conſidering the Heinouſneſs of the Facts they had committed, and many of the Citizens interpoſing their Mediation they agreed to leave the City on certain Conditions, and after their Departure met with moſt bitter Perſecutions wherever they went. *A. D.* 1522.

THE Affairs of *Lombardy* and *Tuſcany* were now reſtored to a State of Tranquillity as above related, but the Care of the Dominions of the Church being totally neglected by the College through the Abſence of the Pope, and the Diſcord and Ambition of the Cardinals, *Sigiſmondo* Son of *Pandolfo Malateſta* the antient Lord of *Rimini*, by means of ſome ſlight Correſpondence which he held in the Place, ſeized on that City almoſt without any Aſſiſtance: And tho' the Cardinal *de' Medici*, at the Inſtances of the College, had taken a Journey to *Bologna* as Legate of that City, in order to *Rimini* ſeized by *Malateſta*

A. D. 1522. recover *Rimini*, and ſettle the other Affairs of *Romagna* which were in great Confuſion, having obtained a Promiſe from the College that the Marquis of *Mantoua*, General of the Church, ſhould march to his Aſſiſtance, yet nothing took Effect for Want of Money, and becauſe the Cardinals his Adverſaries prevented every Reſolution which might tend to increaſe his Reputation.

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